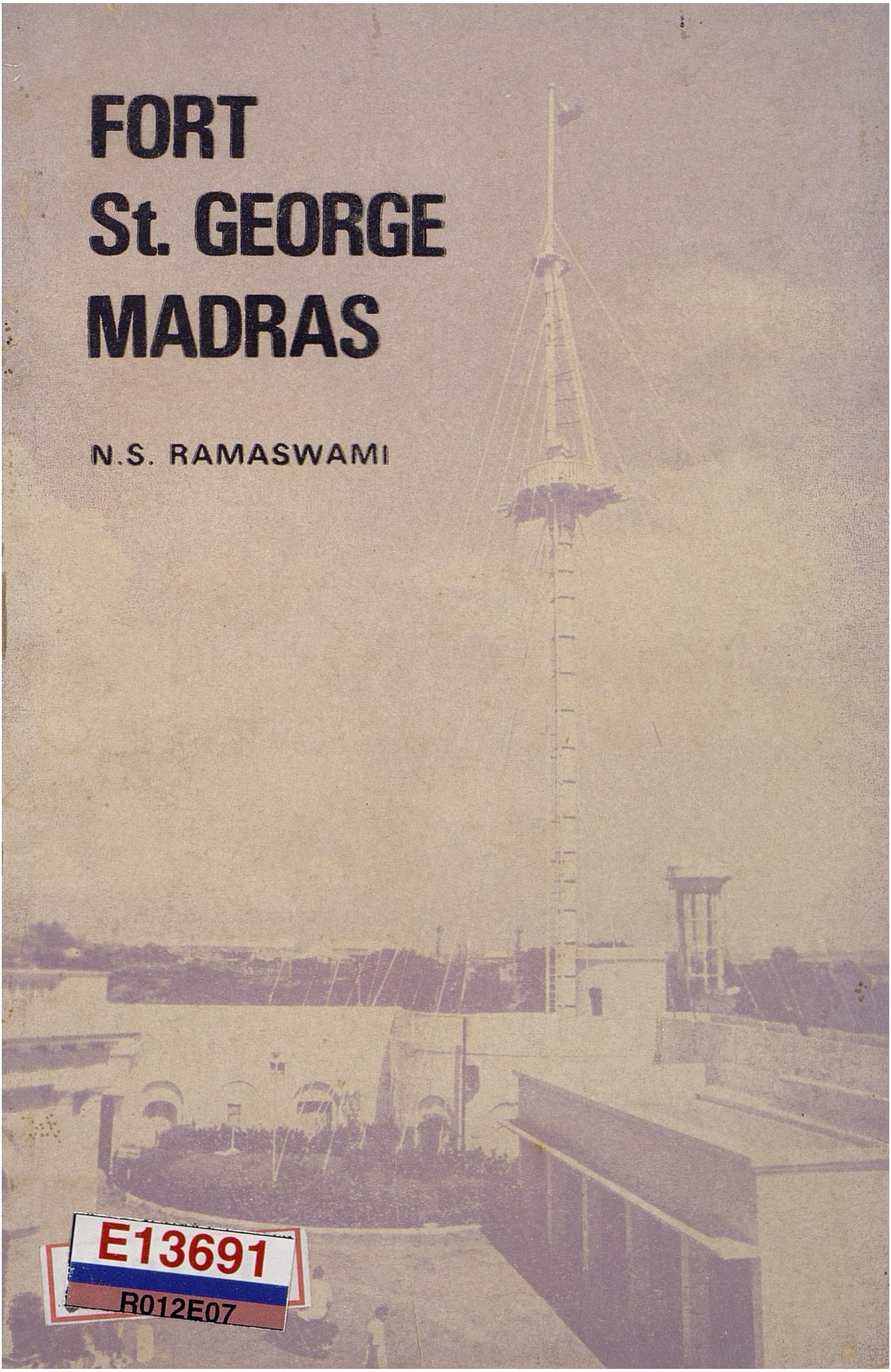
FORT St. GEORGE MADRAS

N.S. RAMASWAMI



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PREFACE

The history of most forts consists of the sieges they were subjected to. Fort Saint George, in Madras, had its share of these tribulations. But much of its history concerns its beginnings These were stormy. Its builders erected it in the face of strong opposition and other difficulties. Yet it survived to become the nucleus of the oldest city of the Raj.

Much of its historian's materials is English. But there are some stray Indian references. Though these are scanty, they are crucial in a few respects.

If like the mythical old lady in respect of 'Hamlet', the reader should complain that this book is 'full of quotations', my reply is that they are vital. Not only do they trace the developments, but they also evoke the spirit of the times. The picturesque style and even what may appear eccentric spelling are a part of the fort's history in the background.

I have extracted many descriptions of the fort and the city from traveller's books. Since very early the English fort and the two older Indian settlements nearby coalesced together, it is not possible to separate the references to the fort from those to the city.

Some of these references are Indian. Many years ago Dr. V. Raghavan drew attention to three, but there are some more. It is quite possible that many more exist in unpublished manuscripts.

N. S. RAMASWAMI

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CHAPTER I

PRELIMINARIES

'A gently undulating sapphire sea, a thin line of white where the swell breaks in surf upon the shore, a strip of gold sand, a continuous fringe of dark foliage which seems to cover, as if with dense forest, the level surface of the land; and in the background a few isolated purple hills of no great height rising abruptly from the plains; the whole bathed in brilliant sunlight'. This is what an English merchant, Francis Day, must have seen as his ship sailing from the north anchored off a town named Madraspatam on July 27, 1639. He landed, met the lord of the coast to discuss business, and then returned to Armagon, a small fort on the northern shore of Lake Pulicat. His visit ultimately led to the creation of the British Indian empire.

The Englishman, who must have been bewigged, becurled and behatted like his Stuart contemporaries even in India's burning clime, was then the head of a small trading settlement in Armagon. The chief English agency on the Coromandal coast was in Masulipatam, farther north. The English traders were unhappy there and absolutely miserable in Armagon. It was to find an alternative settlement that Day voyaged to Madraspatam. The English needed a fort where they could store their goods and defend themselves if attacked by their European rivals, the Portuguese, the Dutch and the French, and by any of the Indian rulers.

Day was impressed, or rather allowed himself to be impressed, by the potentialities of a site close to Madraspatam, and reported favourably to his superiors. After overcoming many difficulties and after some delay the fort was built. In a little over a century and a half this fort, named after Saint George, England's patron saint, became the centre of undisputed British political power in south India. With Tippu Sultan of Mysore defeated and killed, the British had South India at their feet. They rapidly spread their dominion over the entire country. The origin of that great fact of modern history, the British empire, lay in Francis Day's visit to Madraspatam in 1639. Fort St. George, from which Madras,

the oldest city of the Raj, sprang has been a mute witness of much history.

As it stands today, it is an eighteenth century fortress. Built in the forties of the previous century, it underwent periodical alterations before attaining its final form. Its beginnings were stormy, its early career doubtful, but its subsequent development assured, even magisterial.

Its history is uneven. Considerable attention has to be paid to the circumstances, in India as well as England, in which it arose. Scholarly controversy marks its early days. At one time it ran the risk of being adandoned. It was besieged or blockaded in the century of its origin, it was captured by an enemy in the middle of the next and battered in another siege a few years later. But after Count Lally's attack on it in 1758-59 it was not to know the alarums of war. It was then considerably rebuilt. By 1783 it had attained its present form. Changes since have been mainly the destruction of some old buildings and the construction of new ones not always in consonance with the spirit of architecture nearby. Could Day and Andrew Cogan, his official superior, whose part in the founding of the fort was less only than his, visit it today, they would not feel much of strangers.

The origins of the fort are to be found in Masulipatam and Armagon. The English traders were unhappy in both these factories. Their tribulations arose from the fact that the Dutch, their main rivals, had established a galling dominance and did all they could to obstruct their trade. There was some trouble with the Portuguese too, but this nation, who had been masters of the Indian waters in the sixteenth century, were now a spent force. Few could have anticipated the dramatic rise of the English to dominance in Asia in the eighteenth century. They were rulers of the world in the nineteenth, and only in our own times have they yielded place to the Americans and the Russians.

Portuguese power came to India in 1498 with Vasco da Gama's fleet and soon captured the Indian trade. 'When the Portuguese, at last, rounding the Cape of Good Hope, burst into the Indian Ocean like a pack of hungry wolves on a well-stocked sheep-walk, they found a peaceful and prosperous commerce that had been elaborated during 3,000 years by the Phoenicians and Arabs,

being carried on along all its shores'. It was all destroyed 'as though it had never been' in a 'few short years of violence and conquest'.

But the Dutch, who made their first trading voyage to the east in 1598, overran the Portuguese positions with amazing rapidity. By the middle of the seventeenth century they expelled them from south India and Sri Lanka. What remained to the Portuguese on the Coromandal coast was only Santhome. But the Dutch prospered. Their presence on the east coast dated from 1605 when they settled down in Masulipatam and shipped their first cargo of Indian cotton cloth to Java and Sumatra.

The Europeans had come to India in search of trade. What began in the sixteenth century was the second phase. At the beginning of the Christian era the Roman empire had traded extensively with India, the textile manufactures of which were an object of admiration. Indian spices and luxury goods also found too ready a market in the west for the comfort of some Roman patriots who bewailed good money being spent on gew-gaws. The rise of the Arabs and the decrepitude of the Romans put an end to this trade. The discovery of the south-east passage to India by the Cape of Good Hope led to the second European phase, which has had momentous consequences for the east.

The Portuguese and the Dutch built strongholds for themselves, the former in Goa and the latter in Pulicat. Standing on the southern shore of the lake bearing its name, Pulicat was the mistress of the Indian waters in the seventeenth century. Its castle, Geldria, was strong, certainly the most powerful on the east coast at the time. Today nothing of it remains except for a few European tombs. One of these carries a carving of Geldria. The British took Pulicat in 1781 and, except for eight years from 1818, it was in their hands.

The English East India Company was founded in 1599. Nine years later, on August 24, 1608, its first ship anchored in Indian waters. This was in the third voyage, and the ship was the Hector, commanded by William Hawkins. The company had deputed him to explore trade possibilities in Aden and Surat. Initially he could make no headway because of Portuguese hostility. Though Jehangir permitted him to build a "factory" in

Surat, he could not until four years later. However, the English helped themselves by winning a resounding naval victory off Surat over the Portuguese, hitherto considered invincible in the Indian waters.

The pattern of the European trade was based on the fact that south-east Asia was not a good market for western manufactures. So the Europeans bought spices with money made by importing there textiles made in India. To commission the manufacture of the textiles they brought bullion from their home countries.

'Painted' cloth was the main article of trade on the east coast. Initially the Europeans had dealt in coarse cloth, cotton yarn and indigo. Later many commodities were added, spices, lead, quicksilver, porcelain and broadcloth. But it was the 'paintings' that were the pride of manufacture The principal centres were Masulipatam, Palacole and Petapoli, now called Nizampatnam. The industry seems to have been decaying at about the beginning of the eighteenth century. A Fort St George' Consultation' dated January 2, 1705, States, 'Painting of Callicoes having been brought to great prefection in this place, but from the discourgement those goods met with in England, being prohibited to be imported, that art has much dwindled away here, and many of that Trade left us for want of an Employ'. Today it has been revived as a kind of handicrafts. The main centres are Masulipatam still and Srikalahasthi.

At the end of the seventeenth century, John Ovington, who lived in western India for some years-wrote, 'In some things the Artists of India out-do all the Ingenuity of Europe, viz. in the painting of Chits and Callicoes, which in Europe cannot be parrallel'd, either in the brightness and life of the Colours, or in their continuance upon the Cloath'.

These clothes were called "paintings" because the designs were drawn by hand. They owed their durable and bright colours to a mordant which was extracted from a plant growing wild at the mouth of the Krishna delta and nowhere else. The red tones were much valued in the west. The Dutch knew the secret much before the English.

The first English attempt to settle down on the east coast was

made in 1611 during the seventh voyage of the East India company. That year Captain Hippon and Peter Floris, a Dutchman who had learnt the secrets of the Indian trade in the service of his own country, sailed in the Globe to make a landing in Pulicat. The Dutch foiled them. They sailed north to Petapoli, arriving there on August 18. Received well by the local authorities, they founded the first English shore establishment on the Bay of Bengal. But Pulicat was so attractive that another English sea captain attempted to trade there three years later. Again the attempt failed. In 1619, five years later, a treaty made in Europe with the Dutch gave the English the right to trade from Pulicat, where they were "to have free trade on paying half the expenses of the Dutch garrison". But this attempt too failed. Then in 1623 occurred the massacre of eighteen English merchants in Amboyna, an island in the Moluccas, famous for its cloves. This rankled in the minds of Englishmen for generations until Oliver Cromwell, strong where the two Stuart kings, James I and Charles I, had been pusillanimous, extorted reparation. Nevertheless, the English attempted many times to return to Pulicat, but were always foiled.

Petapoli, where a fugitive lodgment was made in 1611, failed and the 'factory' was closed ten years later. Though the English returned in 1633, it survived only till 1687.

English hopes centred on Masulipatam, where Hippon had landed in 1611 after his venture in Petapoli. Masulipatam was much the most important site the English had attempted to obtain thus far. It was the chief port of the Golconda kingdom. Considerable trade flowed through it, including the famous diamonds apart from "painted" cloth. Despite the Dutch hostility the English secured a grant for a fortified "factory" from the Hindu authorities in the interior who were still in power. But the Sultan of Golkonda gradually established himself on the coast and the English had to seek his authorisation. This they called the "Golden Phirmaund". The Sultan declared that "under the shadow of Me, the King, they shall sit down at rest and safety". They were to import Iranian horses for him.

But, in fact, they did not "sit down at rest and safety" because they were embroiled in disputes with the local authorities. In

1626 they obtained a patch of ground in Armagon (modern Durgarayapatnam), about thirty-five miles north of Pulicat. There, for the first time in India, they were allowed to fortify a settlement. But the venture was not successful. The fort was a poor one, the anchorage shallow and exposed. Above all. the local authorities, who were under the influence of the Dutch, placed many obstacles in their way. Therefore, when in 1632 the Golconda authorities promised better treatment in Masulipatam, the English returned But Armagon was not abandoned. It was retained as a minor station under Masulipatam's authority.

However, matters did not improve in Masulipatam. The English complained that the local authorities were overbearing. On the other hand, the English merchants were "not too scrupulous in their dealings with the natives In 1639 the king of Golconda complained to Cogan that the Masulipatam factors had maltreated his subjects and cheated his customs by passing off strangers' goods as their own". This practice was to become a source of dispute in Bengal in the next century.

The English were in a quandary. They hated Masulipatam, but could not return to Armagon in force. Besides its natural deficiencies, Armagon had a dilapidated fort and considerable money would be needed to set this to rights. But, now as on many occasions later, there was little money to spare from trade to fortifications. Though, despite all this, the fort was repaired in 1634, it was still useless. The English simply had to find another site. Judging from the available records, it was Day who recognised this fact most strongly of all the Englishmen on the coast. It was he who was actively set searching for an alternative.

The Dutch in Pulicat wrote to Batavia, their principal seat in Asia, in January, 1637, that an English merchant named Francis Day had recently sailed from Masulipatam to 'Pollocheere' to negotiate the building of a settlement there. The destination is modern Pondicherry. Pulicat also reported a rumour that the English intended to build a fort in Pondicherry or in 'Conimeer', or Kunimedu, thirteen miles north. Both attempts failed.

The English then considered Covelong, about ten miles north of Mamallapuram. The Portuguese complained that the new comers were disturbing the good relations they had long enjoyed

with the local rulers. But the Covelong move too came to nothing. Masulipatam told Surat, the chief English agency in India then, that nothing more than 'words . . . . passed betwixt that Governor and our people. Tis true faire profers were made unto us'.

Even as these negotiations, ultimately to fail, were in progress the situation deteriorated in the English Agency in Masulipatam. There was indiscipline among the factors. One of them, Richard Hudson, said that the Agency was 'altogether a monster (or a boddy without a head), each was his own director'. A grave situation arose for the English when Captain Weddell, the commander of a ship belonging to the Curtenian Association, a rival of the East India Company, fired into Masulipatam and killed some persons. Further, Day and some other factors were accused of having supported Weddell. Money was lacking even for the daily expenses of the Agency. Finally, there was a bitter dispute over the succession to the Agentship. There were two claimants, Andrew Cogan appointed by London and Thomas Ivy appointed by Bantam, which then controlled Masulipatam. Bantam did not know of the London order.

It can perhaps be said that Day, then in Armagon, took the matter into his hands. Pondicherry, Kunimedu and Covelong had all failed. The English did not very much like going to Santhome, though the Portuguese invited them, because, as they rightly suspected, that offer was made only to keep them under their eye. When Ivy was on his way from Bantam to Masulipatam and passed through Armagon in July, 1639, Day secured his permission to meet the Nayak of Wandiwash, Damarla Venkatapathi, to discuss another possible site.

With the meeting of Damarla Venkatapathi and Francis Day the history of Fort St. George was set in motion.

CHAPTER II

DECCAN WARS

Damarla Venkatapathi was the principal magnate of the Vijayanagar empire. That empire had been enfeebled by the defeat in Rakshas Tangadi fought in 1565, but it had not been destroyed. The Andhra coastal region and the Raichur doab, that old bone of contention, were lost, but vast territories still remained under its control. The Tamil area became a more important part of the empire than before. The capital was changed from Hampi, first to Penukonda, then to Chandragiri and Vellore. "The Tamil country became the Vijayanagar empire. Chandragiri and Vellore came to be known as Vijayanagar and the rulers themselves as kings of Chandragiri and Vellore".

Damarla Venkatapathi belonged to the Srikalahasthi family. It was related to the Velugoti house. Both played an important part in the history of the royal Aravidu dynasty According to a Telugu poem, "Bahulasvacharitram", written by Damarla Vengala, the two houses became connected by marriage when Dharma, an ancestor of Venkatapathi's, married Vengalamba. From this union descended Venkatapathi and Ayappa, the Nayak of Poonamallee, who were concerned in the founding of Fort St. George and another half-brother, Anka, who wrote "Ushaparinayam", a poem in Telugu, which contains a reference important in any discussion on the origin of the name,"Chennapatnam" borne by an Indian town alongside of Fort St. George.

Yachama was the most important of the Velugoti chiefs. These nobles, after Peda Yachama, the grandfather of Yachama, were governing from Uttramerur. Venkatapathi Raya had, about 1600, given them the "simas" of Madurantakam and Uttramerur.

Peda Yachama came into conflict with Linga, the chief of Vellore, and the latter's general, Davula Papa. When Linga besieged Vellore, Peda Yachama inflicted a crushing defeat on him.

Damarla Venkatapathi was, according to the English records,

"Lord General of Carnatica" and "Grand Visier" to the Raya, and he ruled over the coastline from Pulicat to Santhome. The Dutch add that he had an army of between twelve and fifteen thousand soldiers and that he lived most of the time at the royal court in Chandragiri. leaving his half-brother, Ayappa, the Nayak of Poonamallee, to rule his district, which included Madraspatam.

In fact. Damarla Venkatapathi was the first nobleman in the empire. The Raya, a namesake, was his brother-in-law, and he was virtually the ruler It is quite possible that it was not he, but his half-brother, Ayappa, who negotiated with Day.

How could the Indian rulers of the day invite foreigners to settle amongst them and provide them with quite extraordinary facilities ? In his letters to his superiors Day mentions some of the reasons. But there were also larger ones While Golconda exercised firm control over the foreign merchants in Masulipatam, where it was the custom, when the ladies of the court visited the godowns, for the traders to be evacuated from the town, the Hindu rulers were far more lenient. If, in Armagon, the English considered themselves ill used, it was only because the local authorities were under the influence of the Dutch. Generally speaking, this leniency derived from the weakness of the Hindu power. Something might have been due to traditional Hindu tolerance, but the governing factor was the unsettlement in the country caused by frequent invasions by the Muslim kings of Golconda and Bijapur, whom the Great Mughal egged on, though not for their, but ultimately for his own, purposes. Another factor was the hostility among the Hindu Nayaks who, even when mortal peril threatened their religion and temples, would not stop fighting among themselves or against their suzerain

After Rakshas Tangadi in 1565, Tirumala, a brother of Rama Raya, who lost his life in that battle, attempted to rally the empire. With Penukonda as his capital, he fought the forces of disruption. Reorganising what remained of the empire, he made Sriranga, his eldest son, viceroy of the Telugu area from Penukonda, Rama of the Kannadiga region from Srirangapattana, and Venkatapathi, the youngest, of the Tamil districts from Chandragiri.

When Tirumala abdicated in 1572, Sriranga succeeded him. He faced many difficulties from his nobles who were not above intriguing with the Muslim enemy. He died in 1585 without issue and was succeeded by his brother, Venkatapathi, the viceroy of the Tamil region. His reign of twenty-eight years was 'marked by a revival of strength and prosperity in the empire. He dealt successfully with the perennial trouble from the Muslim rulers of the Deccan, controlled the internal disorders effectively, and promoted the economic revival of the country'.

Even so, the reign was full of fighting. There were revolts in the Kolar region and in Rayalaseema. A more serious one broke out in the Tamil districts, headed by Lingama of Vellore. Velugoti Yachama captured Uttramerur from Naga, a subordinate of Lingama. The latter gathered a huge army with the help of the three principal Nayaks, Gingee, Tanjore and Madurai, who were concerned, not that the Hindu cause still lay in mortal peril, but only that the Raya was becoming too powerful for their liking. Yachama, and his brother, Singa, repulsed the confederates. The war was carried into the Madurai kingdom before finally Linga, who had thrown himself into the fortress of Vellore, was captured.

Velugoti Yachama figured in the first of the two civil wars which completed the ruin that Rakshas Tangadi had begun. It was a succession dispute after Venkatapathi's death. He had no son, but a favourite queen passed off a changeling as her own. Venkatapathi winked at the fraud, but later nominated Sriranga, a son of his brother, Rama. The magnates took opposite sides. Gobburi Jagga Raya, the brother of Venkatapathi's favourite queen, supported the putative son, and Velugoti Yachama Sriranga.

Jagga was a gangster. He seized Sriranga and his family and imprisoned them. He crowned the changeling boy. Yachama had Rama, Sriranga's second son, smuggled out of prison, and attempted to rescue Sriranga. He failed, and Jagga barbarously murdered the royal family. Yachama then crowned Rama. The decisive battle of the war was fought in Topur, a village near the Grand Anicut. Yachama was victorious.

Rama's position became secure when the changeling died in

1619 and when, by marrying a daughter of Ethiraja, a brother of Jagga, he brought about a reconciliation. But this estranged Yachama who had wanted to acquire the Gobburi lands and Pulicat, which was Ethiraja's. However, Yachama could make no headway.

Meanwhile, Bijapur had seized many western Telugu districts. Rama could not intervene. Suddenly, in 1630, he died, aged only twenty-eight. That brought about another civil war. Rama had nominated Peda Venkata, a grandson of Aliya Rama Raya and his own cousin, to succeed him. But Timma Raja, Rama's paternal uncle, rose in revolt and confined Venkata to Anegondi. Sriranga, Peda Venkata's nephew, actively supported his uncle and, with assistance from the Dutch in Pulicat, he defeated the pretender. When finally, the latter was killed in 1635, Venkata became secure. However, he was at peace only for two years. In 1637 the Nayaks of Tanjore and Madurai fought him, alleging that he was too friendly with their brother of Gingee. What was worse, Sriranga became inimical and brought about two invasions by Bijapur, in 1638 and 1641. The second invasion was stopped with difficulty, only twelve miles from Vellore.

Golconda now took the cue and attacked along the east coast. Damarla Venkatapathi and Velugoti Timma, now the Nayak of Armagon, resisted the invaders, but to no effect. Venkata died near Narayavanavaram on October 10, 1641. He could not have known much about the building of Fort St. George which had begun a year previously.

The 'treacherous' Sriranga succeeded to a sea of troubles. At the last moment of his uncle's life, he had turned away from the Muslims and opposed them. But Damarla Venkatapathi and Krishnappa Nayaka of Gingee were among his enemies The former set up a rival claimant to the throne. He failed and Sriranga imprisoned him. His kinsmen gathered a large army, determined to free him or 'ruin the whole kingdom'. The second alternative was coming to pass. Sriranga did gain successes, but they were temporary. In 1646 he received Henry Greenhill, a factor from Fort St. George, and confirmed the grant of the Damarla brothers. But the Muslim invasions and the fraternal treachery of the Nayaks undid him and he died in 1672 in Belur;

with him died the great Vijayanagar empire.

Damarla Venkatapathi, a typical Nayak of the times, self seeking, lost to the higher loyalties to the treasonable extent of calling in the Sultans to redress the balance against him, seems to have died, it is not known when, in no happy circumstances. His brother, Ayappa, made up with Sriranga. He was killed fighting for him against Chikkadevaraja Wodeyar of Mysore in the battle of Erode about 1670. That battle destroyed Sriranga's last hopes of recovery.

But the final victory was not to be Golconda's or Bijapur's or yet of the Mahrattas, who appeared first in the Deccan about this time. It was to go to the foreigners who, by the time Erode was fought, had settled down in the fort, which two Rayas and one Sultan guaranteed them.

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CHAPTER III

NEGOTIATIONS

The first available reference to Francis Day's meeting with the Nayak, it cannot be determined whether this was Venkatapathi or Ayappa, but probably Ayappa, occurs in the former's report to Masulipatam, delivered in person to Cogan, by now accepted as the Agent, on September 3, 1639. Wrongly dated July 27, when it should be August 27, and written in 'Armagun', it recalls the talks the writer had had with Ivy on his way from Bantam to Masulipatam, 'when I acquainted you with many kind invitations(s) and larg priviledges by the Nague of Vincatadra, whose teritories lyes betweene Pullacat and Santomee, the only place for paintings so much desired at southwards (that is, Bantam) and likewise great store of longcloath and morrees which is there procurable (Muster of the later now accompanyes these)'.

Day details his difficulties in Armagon. He has no money to meet the current expenses, much less pay the debts due. 'At present I know not where to take up 10 pagodas.' His only hope is in 'an intended removal from this unprofitable place'.

Day refers to his meeting with the Nayak, 'I had your consent to make a Voyage to the Nague, and therefore sett sayle for those parts the 23rd of Jully, and arived the 27th, where I was entertayned with much Honnour by the Nague himself etc. Merchants, Painters and Weavers After some parlay with the Nague, I had free leave to vizit his townes and soe discourse with the Merchants, Weavers and Painters, whoe brought mee musters of all their sorts of Cloath'.

Day was not authorised to buy, 'but only to inquire of their prizes'. These he 'heard with sorrow'. For 'haveing Compared boath sorts and prizes with ours at Armagon, beleve mee, I lament our masters great Losses and cannot blame our freinds at Southwards for their offten Complaints. The Duch may well undersell us when wee over (pay) by them 20, 30 and in some sorts 40 per cent. It is a misserie to know a grevance, if possabillityes for remedies bee wanting'.

Day proceeds to denounce Armagon. 'You must pardon mee if I say it hath been usuall in such kinds to make to many Doubts when faire opertunityes for our Masters Benefitt offerd itselfe. I neede not tell you that Armagon is only chargable; the place affords nothing of itselfe, not soe much as a peece of whit Cloath but Comes from other places, as for Merchants, how misserable poore they are, by the Nagues Continuall forceings, there Complying with us and the Cloath sent to the southwards speakes loude in Confirmation of misserey of the place with their backward perfformances. The Common Arbitrator, time, hath now made a beneficiall discovery, iff you shall please to imbrace such large and secure offers, which the Incloased Coppie of the firman granted by the Nague will Demonstrat'.

Day is 'readie to give you a verball relation of the Hoped benifit that will Attend if a residence were there once settled. Oppertunity of time is to bee followed when such occasions for our Masters benefite offers itselfe Changes of time are tickle, and if you suffer this oppertunitye to pass over, you shall perhaps in vaine afterwards pursue the same when it is fledd and gone. Our Envighous Neighbours the Dutch I dout not but wilbeestir themselves to their power in hindering of us what lyes in them; yett lett not that discourage you, for all their Machivillian pollicyes will not prevaile. If it should, the Company can bee noe loaser, for they runn noe hazard. If you will not follow this Course, you quite forgoe the way which promiseth Asurance, leaveing firme securitye mearely to chance and hazard'.

The language is unusual for an official report. Its vigour, almost beseeching vigour, must be explained by the writer's detestation of Armagon. This is made clear by a kind of sporting offer he now makes. "And that you may more Evidently perceive noe private respects of my owne hath drawne mee to advise you as abovesaid, but only a reall well wishing to my masters, will joyne with a dutious earnest desire to procecut what may bee Conceived best for their advantage, doe promise, iff the goods there provided shall not apeare at the southwards 15 per cent Cheaper then those formerly bought at Armagon, not to lay Clayme to any one peney of what shall be due to mee for all my service from my Honnorable Imployers; which,

did I not tender their proffitt farr before my owne, I would never soe willingly hazard. But why doe I say hazard, being Confident I run none, haveing soe good asurance off performance?'.

This offer is Day's second to ensure that his 'Honnorable Imployers' go to Madraspatam. A third follows when, having gone there, it is found that there is not enough money to build the fort.

The 'Incloased Coppie of the firman granted by the Nague' is truly historical. It is the legal basis for the building of Fort St. George. There are three contemporary versions of the grant. The one usually followed and also extracted here is in Cogan's handwriting and seems to have been sent to Bantam. It must have been drafted by Day.

'Whereas Mr Francis Day, Captain of the English at Armagon', begins the document, 'upon great hopes by reason of our promises offten made unto him, hath repaired to our port of Madraspatam and had personall Conference with us in behalfe of the Company of that Nation, Concerning their trading in our territories and freindly Comerce with our subjects, wee, out of our spetiall Love and favour to the English, doe grant unto the said Captain, or whomsoever shall bee deputed to Idgitate the affaires of that Company, by vertue of this firman power to direct and order the building of a fort and castle in or about Medraspatam, as they shall thinke most Convenient, the Charges whereof, untill fully and wholly finished, to bee defrayed by us, but then to bee rapaied when the said English shall first make their enterance to take possession thereof'.

The Nayak offers four privileges. The first is 'full power and authority to governe and dispose of the Government of Madraspatam for the terme and space of two yeares Next Insueing after they shall be seated there and possesst of the said fortifiications, and for the future by an Equall Division to receive halfe the Custom and revenewes of that port.

'Moreover, whatsoever goods or Merchandize the English company shall either Import or Export, forasmuch as Concernes the dutyes and Customes of Madraspatam, they shall, not only for the Prementioned two yeares in which they Injoy the Govern-

ment, but for ever after, be Custom free. Yett if they shall Transport or bring any commodities up, into, or through my Countray, then shall they pay halfe the dutyes that other Merchants pay, whether they buy or sell the said Commodities either in my Dominions or in those of any other Nague whatsoever'.

The second privilege gives the English the right of issuing coins. They shall 'perpetually Injoy the priviledges of mintag, without paying any Dewes or dutyes whatsoever, more then the ordinary wages or hire unto those that shall Quoyne the moneyes'.

The third privilege the Nayak offers is, 'Iff the English shall Acquaint us before they deliver out any moneys to the Merchants, Painters, Weavers etc, which are or shall hereafter reside in our prementioned port or teritories, and take our word for their sufficcency and honest dealing. then doe wee promise, in case those people faile in their performances, to make good to the English all such sumes of money as shall remaine on their Accounts, or Else deliver them their persons, if they shalbe found in any part of my teritories'.

After agreeing that 'whatsoever provisions the English shall buy in my Countrey, either for their fort or ships, they shall not be liable to pay any Custom or Dutyes for the same', the Nayak states, 'And if any shipp or vessell belonging to the English (or to any other Countray whatsoever which tradeth or shall come to trade at that port) shall by misadventure suffer shippwrack and bee driven upon any part of my teritories, they shall have restitution upon Demand of whatsoever can be found remaining of the said wrack'.

Neither Day's report nor the 'firman' mentions a stipulation of the Nayak that the English should reply to his offer within forty days. This stipulation made it necessary for the English to act quickly. But this they were unable to. Day himself carried his letter to Masulipatam evidently to hasten matters. The new Agent, Cogan, might have been expected to oppose the proposal

For, while in Golconda which he visited during an overland journey from Surat to Masulipatam, he had obtained from the

Sultan two 'firmans' which promised him 'full power to negotiate his designs, what money, treasure, or goods, or what else he shall deliver to weavers, painters, or any other, that his worke bee puntually performed and debts cleared, and further the Governours, or by what other name call'd, they shall not only suffer (him in) quiett, but also do their best to assist him, suffering neither goods nor mony to bee remains without his especiall leave; and that neither goods, persons, or sergants be detained upon any pretence, but but in all passages you (the local authorities) rather helpe them"

Cogan asserts that he was successful because of the help he received from "my noble friend, Meir Mahmud Side, the Sirkele". This personage later became celebrated under the name of Mir Jumla, taking an active part in the conquest of the southern coastal areas, but later betraying the Sultan to the Mughal, extinguishing the Sultanate. Cogan often says that he had achieved something remarkable. In fact, however, the English were no happier in Masulipatam than before.

In the meanwhile, Cogan might have been expected to oppose any "removal" to Madraspatam. However, he fully supported it. At a 'Consultation' in Masulipatam on September 5, attended by Cogan, Day, Thomas Morris and Thomas Winter, it was decided that Day should return to Madraspatam "to keepe a faire Correspondence with that place and indeavour to prolong the tyme abovesaid", the Nayak's forty days.

"Mr. Francis Day haveing had leave to make a vioage from Armagon to Madraspatam, a port towne between Pullacatt and Santomay belonging to Damela Vincatedree Nague," says the document, "as well to view the said place and take notice what Clooth and painting are there made and procured, as personally to conferre and treat with the saied Nague, concerning our trade and Traffiique in his cunttrey and fortifying at his port; which hee having effected, and received a firmane with large and ample privildeges, as is there specifyed, and acquainted us both by word and writting with his actions there and his opinion thereupon, which wee seriously discust of and considered, doe in regard that Nague is to be answered in forttye dayes, resolve speedylie to send backe the saied Francis Daye for Madras-

patam with horses, suger and Cloves, to keepe a faire Correspondence with that place and indeavour to prolong the tyme abovesaid, it being directly against the order off the President and Councell of Bantam to begin any Factory as yett; butt if the Nague shall earnestly persist therein, the saied Francis Daye shall upon occasion pishcash him with one of the horses; which, with good words and his being there to Negotiate, will, wee hoope, delay his importancy till further order arive from Bantam or elsewhere; and untill then wee will noe building bee medled withall............"

The idea was that, if the Nayak should insist on a reply within the forty days, the English, being unable to decide because they must await Bantam's orders, should "pishcash" or present him with a horse and keep him in good humour until the orders should arrive.

Day was to take two thousand pagodas to Armagon to pay its Nayak and other 'claimorous' creditors. This money was to be borrowed in Masulipatam at interest. Day was also to be provided with an assistant to travel with him to Madraspatam so that when 'wee arrive thither wee may as well Act as discourse, and fix a firme beleif in the minds of those Country people of our intentions to settle a trade there assoone as our shipps come with meanes'.

But Day could not leave. There was no money for him. It was discovered that it was contrary to the company's orders to borrow at interest. Further, Day quarrelled with Ivy, who declared that he could deal with ten men like Day, a braggadacio. Day asked to be allowed to return to England. He wrote, 'You alleage that I cannot bee spared from the imployment of Madraspatam. I have this seaven dayes attended for a dispeede thither; but, for anything I can perceive, there is noe such thing resolved on, monies being wanting, without which iff you should send mee, it would be a great dishonour to our masters'.

Despite his disappointment at the lack of money, Day said that he would guarantee the interest on borrowings 'untill Cristmas, although I am confident my masters are soe noble that they scorne any of their servants should suffer when their proffitt is totally aimed at'.

Still Day could not set off. Fresh difficulties arose. Thomas Hudson accused Day of trading privately and of having assisted Captain Weddell Day denied the charges, writing on September 27. The next day the Agency resolved that the President of Bantam, shortly expected on the coast, should decide the dispute.

What followed immediately is not clear, but the next recorded development is that Day has left for Armagon on his way to Madraspatam. This fact is mentioned in a letter Masulipatam wrote to the company on October 25. This document reviews the developments since Day's first visit to Madraspatam and sheds light on the motives of the local factors.

It states that 'when Mr Ivye etc merchants were at Armagon, Francis Day was Inordered to goe towards St. Thomay, to see what payntings those parts doth afford, as alsoe to see whether any place were fitt to fortifie upon; which accordingly he did. and the ( ) August last, the said Francis Day, haveinge Dispatch what hee was sent about, came for this place and shewes us what hee had Done. And, first, hee makes it appeare to us that at a place Called Madraspatam, neere St. Thomay, the best paintings are made, or as good as anywhere on this Coast, likwise Exellant long Cloath, Morrees, and percall (of which wee have seene Musters), and better Cheape by 20 per cent then anywhere Else.

"The Nague of that place is very Desirous of our residence there, for hee hath made us very fayre proffers to that Effect; for, first, hee proffers to build a forte, in what manner wee please, upon a high plott of ground adjoyneinge to the sea, where a shipp of any Burthen may Ride within Muskett shott, close by a river which is capeable of a Vessell of 50 Tonns; and, upon possession given us by him, and not before, to pay what charges hee shall have disbursed.

"Secondly, hee gives us the whole benifite of a towne neere by for two years, which towne may bee at present worth about 2,000 pagodas per annum; but after two years, the proceede of that towne to be Equally devided betwene him and us. Thirdly, wee to be custome free continually at the Port of Madraspatam, and yf wee carry any our Goodes through his countray, to pay half the Custome usually (paid) by other Merchants.

"Fourthly, wee to enjoye the priviledge of mintage, without payinge any dutyes. Fivethly that for all such moneys as wee shall Deliver out to workmen, hee, the said Nague, wilbe liable to make it good, allwayes provided hee be made acquainted with the delivery. Sixtly, what provisions soever wee shall buy, Either for fort or shippinge, to pay noe dutyes at all. And lastly, if any shipp or vessell shall happen (belongeing to us, or our friends) to be cast away upon any his territoryes, all whatever is sav'd upon Demand shall be restor'd."

An important passage follows. Why should the Nayak make such generous offers? "They are fayre priviledges", Masulipatam writes, "and (it) may be questioned why hee should make us these fayre proffers. 'Tis Answered by himselfe; first, he desires his countray may flurrish and grow rich; which he conceives it will, by Draweinge Merchants to him. Secondly, hee desires, for his money, good Horses from Persia. Thirdly, that yearly upon our shipps he may send a servant into the Bay Bengalla to buy him Hawks, Apes, Parratts, and suchlike babies; and that, when hee shall have occasion to send a vessell of his owne there, or to Persia, a man of ours may proceed upon her. And, lastly, the fort, being made substantiall and strong, may bee able to defend his person on occasion against his insultinge Neighbours".

Masulipatam then argues the case for removing to Madraspatam. 'If your worships intend to Continue this Trade, as wee are Confident you will (for, without this, your pepper trade is of smale vallew, Especially where you shall buy all for reddy moneyes) the abovesaid proffers are not to bee refus'd. For your fort of Armagon is of noe vallew-indeed better left then keept for 'tis but a meere Charge to keepe it, nay, yf it bee kept till next yeare, twill require as much Charge as will build another in the prementioned place; besides, it affords at present not a peece of good Cloath, for that Nague soe pills and pols the Merchants that they are not able to Comply with their Contracts. Further, this place of Messulapatam is not fitt to be your Cheif factory, for soe longe as tis soe, in some measure we must bee subject to these people, for who knowes what may happen tomorrow? Your Estate here, upon alteration of government, is not secure'.

The factors hold up the Dutch example. 'Why shall not wee in some things Intimate (that is, imitate) our Invetterate and most Mallitious Enemyes, which is, assooneas any goods is bought in their private factoryes, (they) send for it in their smale Vessels to their fort at Pullacatt, by which meanes they keepe these people soe much the more in subjection, and still Command their owne; the like may wee doe, if your worships conceive it fitting, to which wee reffer ourselves. But while the grass grows, the steed Starves, soe, Er these can come to your Worships hands (unless you have given the President power to fortifie, and desolve Armagon) the Dutch by their large bribes may (when wee would) cause some stopp; which yf they should, yett will (we) not doubt to find some other fitting place, better (for a worse cannot be) then Armagon'.

The reference to Dutch 'bribes' is interesting. About this time, Pulicat reported that, when Damarla Ayappa visited it, the Dutch tried to persuade him to prevent the English from building a fort in Madraspatam. It alleged that he took a present. But, since it was he who was mainly instrumental in initiating the suggestion to Day, he could hardly have been expected to hinder it.

Masulipatam refers to another development. The Portuguese invited the English to settle down with them in Santhome, but the latter viewed the offer with suspicion and recommended that it be ignored. "The Captain-Generall of St. Thomay, in a letter to us by Mr Day, makes proffer of any place in that Citty, beinge soe Inordered from the Vize Roy; which offer of his and the former wee dare not Imbrace or medle withall, without your Espetiall order, or the President of Bantam. However, as wee made him noe promise to come, soe (we) gave him noe absolute Deniall, but deferred him till our Presidents Arrivall, to treat farther on that particular. For the Generall etc Portugalls, as they are now our friends, will not goe about to opose us; but, rather then wee should settle att Madraspatam, would afford us any accommodation at St. Thomy, where wee might be under their Command; but wee hope yowl give order for the other place, yf any"

Then follows the information that Day had left for Armagon

on his way to Madraspatam. "As soone as wee had procured 2,000 pagodas at Interest, to pay our debts at Armagon wee dis- peeded Mr Francis Day thither, with order to goe from thence to Madraspatam, with our letter and a horse for Piscash, that soe hee might bee the better persuaded, the Nague, wee would come and settle there; for the Dutch had reported wee were soe farr in Debt as wee were scarce able to keep house, and there- fore wished the Merchants etc not beleve as any such thinge as buildinge a fort was intended. And likewise ditto Day, in Com- pany with Mr Tompkins, to take with him all such goods as were in Armagon unsould, with four horses sent from hence to sell; as alsoe, if hee could perswade the Creditors in Armagon to stay for their moneys a longer time (because wee pay noe Inte- rest), to take that Monyes with him"

A windfall befell the English at this time. A Portuguese ship, from China, caught fire and put in at Armagon. "The most part" of its goods was saved, but the Portuguese could not remove it without the help of the English. The Masulipatam Agency order- ed Day to offer, for payment, to transport the goods to Santhome by the Unity or the Eagle. (It was these ships that a few months later carried the English to Madraspatam to build Fort St. George). Day was to charge the Portuguese freight of three or four thousand rials of eight. With this sums he was to make a "Smale Investment" in Madraspatam to "try whether really the Place may be soe benefltial as wee are Credibly informed it is".

Along with this letter Masulipatam sent another to the Presi- dent at Bantam, asking for his permission to build the fort. But soon after Surat informed Masulipatam that all coast 'factories' had now been placed under its jurisdiction. Masulipatam then asked for Surat's permission. It wrote first on November 8. Ten days later it wrote again 'after the receipt of severalls from Mr Day which Importunes us to goe for Maddaraspatan'. It wrote a third letter on December 14, suggesting that the moment was ideal for leaving Armagon.

The reply was received on February 6, 1640; it had been write ten on January 8. It was noncommittal. Obviously Surat was unwilling to take the responsibility, realising better than Masuli-

patam that the Company might object to such a big commitment at a time when it faced serious difficulties in England on the eve of the civil war between King and Parliament.

Surat said that it was for the people on the spot to decide. Many important facts had to be considered and these could only be 'acculmilated by you upon sight of the place whereaboutes you intend to raise the worke'. Moreover, 'wee conceive according to the Import of your letters' that the project would be 'so farr advanced that our directions will come to Late to Improve the Action if you have gone throught with it'.

An alternative to Armagon might well be necessary. 'That some such place is very necesarie unto for provision of Paintings for the Southern factories, wee are by your information induced to credit, that the Naique of Armagon had abus'd you and rob'd those that trade with you, your confession publisheth'.

This Nayak might try to prevent the English from removing the guns from Armagon. 'How you can prevent his designes and force them from thence will be a matter (wee believe) of some difficulties. The matter called for a most serious deliberation and prepention for its contrivall and performance, and therefore we could wish the Agent had byn present to assist and further with his abeler advice, the progression and perfection of the whole Machine. If you goe forward with it, doe what you resolve on to purpose, and build no such mock forts as that of Armagon etc, and so wee wish you good success to your undertakings'.

As if resolved to place the entire responsibility on Masulipatam, evidently because they knew that London would strongly object, Surat suggested Tranquebar as an alternative. "Tengumbarr (if the Danes would part with yt) we have heared is a convenient serviceable and defencible fortification. Wee beleeve none here hath power to dispose of it ; yet if their povertie should induce them to poart with yt, and that you found yt so usefull and serviceable to your business as ut hath beene reported, that place would merritt owneinge".

Masulipatam could not possibly have construed these remarks and exhortations as permission to build the fort. But the

conditions in the Agency were so difficult and Armagon so utterly impossible that they resolved virtually to act on their own authority.

When Masulipatam's letter was received on the east coast, Cogan and Day were in Armagon. This was early in February, 1640. They set to work quickly dismantling the fort. The Nayak did not interfere. Finally, on February 20, the first settlers arrived off Madraspatam in the Eagle, the Unity and perhaps also a third ship.

They were about fifty in number. Apart from Cogan and Day, there were two factors, Humphrey Tompkins and John Brown, two writers, a surgeon, a gunner, a European carpenter, smiths and coopers, and servants, many of them European. At least one Indian, Nagabhattan, accompanied the party. He was the company's gunpowder maker. Six years later, in 1646, characteristically he made an endowment to the Chennakesava Perumal temple in Madraspatam. There were also a few Portuguese and other private traders. About twenty-five soldiers under Lieutenant Jermin and Sergeant Bradford were to form the garrison.

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CHAPTER IV

PROBLEMS

The English set to work immediately, perhaps within ten days of their arrival, on March 1. They had discovered that the Nayak himself had no intention of building the fort. Masulipatam wrote to Surat on October 14, 1640, "The Nague hath confest before us that hee never had an Intent or did ever promise to build other then with Tody Trees and earth; laying the fault on the Lingua (interpreter) for misunderstandinge of him at the time of treatie".

What exactly the Nayak had had in mind, whether he had intended a fort of mud or whether he had offered only the land and some help, is not clear. The relevant letters at this time are lost. But, at a later date, when work on the fort had progressed to some extent and about four hundred families of weavers had come to live in Madraspatam, Surat reported to London that Cogan, on arrival at the site, "invited the Nague to goe in hande with the worke, and soe performe what he had undertaken. It seemes there was no such thing meant; for he replyed; The Linguist had misrendred his intentions; That he promised nothing but the ground and some other petty Assistances, And that he had neyther monies nor materialls wherewith to commence, much lesse to perfect, so great a worke".

Though, under the agreement, the English were to repay the Nayak his expenditure on the fort, the immediate lack of money must have been a handicap. Fortunately for them, two ships arrived, the Hopewell from England and the Expedition from Bantam, bringing money. For his part, Day offered to pay the interest on any sum that might be needed.

Two problems now arise for the scholar. The precise location of the land on which the fort was built in relation to Madraspatam and Chennapatnam has to be determined. The second question is the origin of the name of "Madras". Had this name died out with the old Madraspatam, it would be of little moment. But it was to become the name of three localities, Madraspatam,

Chennapatnam, and Fort St. George, which combined to make the great city subsequently.

It is manifest that Madraspatam existed before the English arrived. There are many references to it before 1640. 'Patnam' is a common Tamil suffix to names of towns or villages on the sea. The problem concerns 'Chennapatnam'. It is frequently said that Damarla Ayappa particularly asked the English to give that name, after his father, to the town that would grow up by the new fort. A variant of this story is that, when in 1645, Sriranga, the last Vijayanagar Raya, confirmed Ayappa's grant of the fort site, he wished the town to be named after him as Srirangapatnam. In that case, Madras would now be called 'Seringapatam'.

The second story is untenable, and the first is open to doubt. Both may be based on nothing more substantial than a general European view that 'all Hindus' wish to perpetuate their family name to 'future ages', as Talboys Wheeler puts it. Wheeler's story is that in confirming the grant Sriranga 'expressly stipulated that the English town should be called Sri Ranga Raja-patanam, or 'the town of Sri Ranga Raja'...The Raja of Chandragheri was outwitted by the Naik of Chingleput (Ayappa). The father of the Naik was named Chinnapa. The Naik set the Raja at defiance. He ordered the town to be called 'Chinna-patanam' or 'the town of Chinappa'. The Raja was helpless. The Muhammadans were pressing towards the south. In 1646 the Raja fled away to Mysore'.

The only evidence to suggest that the Raya desired the town to be named after him is a sentence in the grant he gave to the English in 1645; 'Forasmuch as you have left Armagon and are come to Zera-Renga-Rayapatan my towne, at first but of smale esteme, and have there built a Forte and brought trade to the Poarte......'. This, of course, occurs in the English translation of the original made by the Fort St. George factors themselves. It is said that this grant was engraved on a gold plate, which was lost in 1746 when the French captured Madras.

As against this tenuous evidence must be set the solid historical fact that Sriranga came to the throne only in 1641, a full year after work on the fort began. If, during his struggle for

sheer survival, the Raya could have bestowed attention on a trumpery matter like the name of a town certain foreigners were building in his territories, he might well have wished that it were named after him, and not after the father of a magnate who had now become a rebel against him. But this was not the case, for by the time he came to the throne the new town had already received its name. There is nothing in the records to suggest that he wished the existing one to be altered in his favour.

There is some literary evidence against the theory. Damarla Ankabhupala, a younger half-brother of Venkatapathi and Ayappa, writes in his Telugu poem, "Ushaparinayam", that Ayappa, finding that the people of Pralayakaveri (the Dutch in Pulicat) were incessantly fighting the people of Mylapore (the Portuguese in Santhome), founded the town of Chennapatnam between the two to end the fighting. This poem is dedicated to Chenna. the father of the three half-brothers.

It cannot be ascertained when the poem was written. But it may be deduced from other considerations that Chennapatnam was founded a little before the English arrived. The Damarla brothers were influential only until 1643, when they fell out with Sriranga. A letter from the fort, dated January 4 that year, records that the new emperor had imprisoned Venkatapathi because he was intriguing with Golconda, and that Ayappa was raising an army to get him released. Sriranga deprived Venkatapathi of all his territories except Poonamalle and its surroundings. So it was only in the eight years, from 1635 when Venkata came to the throne, to 1643, when Venkatapathi was imprisoned that Chennapatnam could have been built. Since Ankabhupala mentions only the Dutch and the Portuguese, and not the English, who did not appear on this part of the coast till 1640, the town, or village, could have risen before that year. But whatever the exact year of its founding it most probably existed already when the English began building the fort.

This view finds support in a document of a later age. A Mackenzie manuscript, "Historical Account of the Establishment of the Europeans at Madras or Chinnapatam, from a Maharatta Paper Ms Translated by C. V. Boria in 1802", states that the

English, "proposing to build a Cotee (fort) to carry on their commerce on the Sea Coast, made proposals to the Damarla family seeking their consent and permission to form their Establishment in some convenient part of the Coast, under their protection". Then comes the significant statement that the Nayak ceded them four villages. One of these was "Chennaik Coopom", which is obviously Chennapatnam.

This evidence is late, belonging to the beginning of the nineteenth century. But it probably preserves an old tradition. When the English arrived in 1640 to build the fort, Madraspatam certainly existed and Chennapatnam too most probably, both nearby. While the latter could have been little more than a cluster of fishermen's huts, of the type still common, the former was 'a fair sized place'. It was a port.

It is very probable that Chennapatnam derived its name from the temple of Chennakesava in Madraspatam. This originally stood on the site the High Court now occupies, at no great distance from the fort. Later, in the eighteenth century, Manali Muthukrishna Mudaliar, the Dubash of Lord Pigot, who was Governor of Fort St. George for two terms, first from 1755 to 1763, and later for a brief while in 1775-1776, rebuilt it in the Flower Bazaar area. It must have been a prominent temple even by 1646, when Nagabhattan, the gunpowder maker for the English, made an endowment to it.

Therefore, there must be substance in what 'Anandaranga Champu', a Sanskrit work written in 1752, says that the name 'Chennapatnam' is really a contraction of 'Chennakesavapatnam', so named after the prominent temple in the region. If this is accepted, the name could not have been given to a new village. An already existing location must have borne it. Some years must have elapsed before the temple could have become prominent.

Incidentally, 'Anandaranga Champu' was written by Srinivasa as a biography of Anandaranga Pillai, the celebrated diarist of Pondicherry under Dupleix. Anandaranga Pillai came of an old Yadava family of Perambur in Madras.

Perambur was also the home of Yenugula Veeraswami, who wrote a diary in Telugu of a pilgrimage to Kashi he made in

1830. He was a man of substance and piety, but he had little knowledge of history. He says that Srirangaraya, the 'king of Bijapur', was ruling in Chandragiri two hundred years previously when an Englishman, Day, was trying to construct a seaport. He obtained permission from him, but 'in the name of Venkatadri Nayudu a Zamindar of these parts. In spite of a request from Srirangaraya that the seaport be constructed and named after him as Srirangaraya Patnam, Venkatadri Nayudu, being a close friend of the Englishman Day told him that it should be named after his father Chennappa Nayudu. And being the Chief executing officer, he named it likewise and thus it acquired the name Chennapatnam. Before this the English used to call it Madirasu. Even today people living in the country north of the Vindhyas cannot recognise it if we call it Chennapatnam. They associate this place with the name Madirasu only. Thereafter in 1644 the English people occupied four miles area on the seacoast and built a fort near the port'.

This passage has no historical value whatsoever. But it is interesting as showing how, within a century and a half, facts could become twisted out of shape in popular consciousness. At the beginning of the nineteenth century the Boria manuscript, already referred to, makes some astonishing mistakes about Sriranga.

Chennapatnam must have consisted of the present municipal divisions of Muthialpet and Peddanaickenpet. Madraspatam stood a little to the south, between the fort and the High Court. The two villages and the fort were within a short distance of each other. In a brief while they coalesced to form a single unit to which the general name of "Madras" was given.

The site the Nayak gave the English is nowhere exactly specified. Colonel Henry Love describes it thus, "The boundary passed through a point on the coast 300 yards north of the river (Cooum) outlet, and travelled across the Island to the cut uniting the two rivers (the other being the Triplicane or Elambore, now called Cochrane's Canal) for a distance of 1,000 yards, curved inland, but subsequently met the river again at the northwest angle of the present George Town. Bending due east till about 1,000 yards from the coast it then turned north for a dis-

tance of about 2,000 yards. Finally, it travelled again east to the sea. It thus enclosed a compact area, save for a projecting coast strip at its northern end. The total length of the tract from north to south was about three and a quarter miles, and its mean width one mile".

The name, "Madras", cannot be explained. The only possible solution is, in Colonel Love's words, that "further purusit of the subject is unprofitable". Previous discussions are disabled by the failure to realise that the problem concerns a Hindu locality in a Hindu country. The truth must lie in the Hindu annals of the locality.

The name was written in myriad forms in the seventeenth century. Chronologically till 1673, when Dr John Fryer, a surgeon in the employ of the East India Company, wrote the first full account of the fort, they are "Medraspatam", "Madraspatam" and "Maddaraspatan", all in 1639; "Madrazpatam" in 1640; "Medrespatnam" in 1641; "Madrasspatam" in 1643; "Madras" in 1643;"Madrassapatam" in 1646; "Madraspatan" (by Iavernier, a French traveller, in 1654);"Madrastapatan" (by Navarette, a Spanish priest, 1646-72); "Medrispatnam" (by Schouten, a Dutch surgeon, 1658-65): "Madrespatan" (by Baldaeus, a Dutch clergyman, in 1672); "Maderas" and "Madirass" (by Fryer in 1673).

Since the name existed before Day's first visit to the town in 1639, for Ayappa's grant of July 22, already mentions "Medrasspatam", no explanation that is based on similarities of names before that year can be valid. Two suggestions founded on names in currency before or about the time have been made, but neither is convincing.

According to the first, the name is derived from that of a Christian named Madrasen, who was living in Madraspatam when the English arrived. Bundla Ramaswami Naidu says in a book he published in 1820, "Memoir on the Internal Revenue System of the Madras Presidency" that an ancestor of his, Berry Timmappa, helped thc English settle down near Madraspatam. "The Gentleman who was Agent at that time, Mr Day, undertook to erect a Factory on the spot where was a Fisherman's Coopam, the head man of which was a Christian, named Madra-

sen, who having thrown some obstacle in allowing the piece of ground he was in possession of, which was his plantain garden, Berry Timmapa had by his influence obtained that spot, promising him that he would cause the factory which was about to be erected to be called after his name, as Madrasenpatam, or commonly Madraspatam".

This statement is useless. It suggests that the new town erected by the English was called Madraspatam. But this name existed before they arrived on the scene. Besides, Ramaswami Nayudu makes some absurd statements. He says that "the Company's Agents at Calcutta requested the assistance of one of our ancestors, named Berry Timmapa, an inhabitant of Palacole, a Dutch factory near Maddipollam, in using his influence with the native princes in this coast in order to establish a Factory". Calcutta was founded by Job Charnock nearly half a century after Madras.

The second suggested derivation is from the name of a Portuguese family, the Madras, which seems to have lived in Santhome early in the seventeenth century. An excavation in Mylapore, a part of Madras, made in 1927 brought to light a tombstone with a Portuguese inscription translated as follows; 'This is the grave of Manuel Madras and of his mother, Son of Vencente Madra and of Lucy Brague. They built this Church at their own expense in 637'. The number, 637, must be part of '1637', the first numeral lost on the stone. It is difficult to believe that a family in Santhome, four miles south of Madraspatam, the members of which must have been living three years before the fort was built, could have lent its name to the new location.

There are some fanciful explanations One would derive the name from a Urdu word, 'madrasa', meaning an educational institution. A Charles Lockyer wrote in a book, 'Account of the Trade in India', published in 1711, that an old college existed within Fort St. George early in the eighteenth century, and that it was the same as a domed structure called the Governor's house in a map of the fort in Fryer's book, 'A New Account of East India and Persia' (1673). In fact, the building was no

college, but a residence for the junior employees. It was not a 'madrasa'.

A Persian chronicle of the Nawabs of Arcot, 'Tuzuk-i-Walajahi', written about the end of the eighteenth century by Burhan Ibn Hassan, states that the site given to Day was 'known as Makhraskuppam in the taluk of Poonamallee', and that 'Madras' sounds 'very like that original name'. But, it is well established that Madraspatam had always had only that one name and no other.

Some other suggestions are infantile; from 'Madras' handkerchiefs, from 'Mandarapatnam' or the 'realm of the stupid', or from 'madeiras', the Portuguese word for a timber depot.

It is best to recognise that the name cannot be explained.

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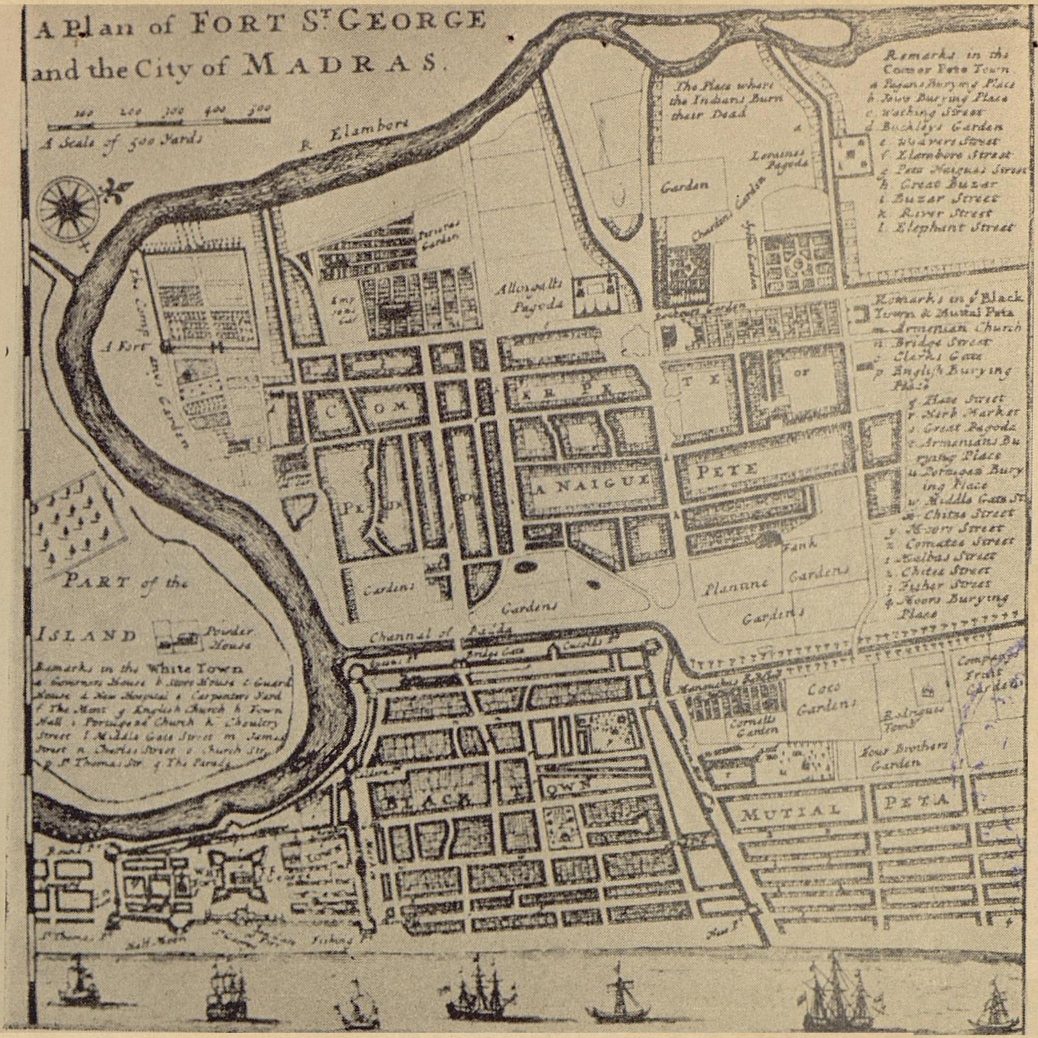
A Plan of FORT St. GEORGE
and the City of MADRAS.
100 200 300 400 500
A Scale of 500 Yards
R. Elmbore
Remarks in the
Comer Peta Town
a Pagans Burying Place
b Jews Burying Place
c Washing Street
d Buckleys Garden
e Weavers Street
f Elambore Street
g Peta Naiguas Street
h Great Buzar
i Buzar Street
k River Street
l Elephant Street
The Place where
the Indians Burn
their Dead
Garden
Allongalls
Pagoda
A Fort
PART of the
ISLAND
Powder
House
Remarks in the White Town
Channel of
Bridge Gate
Remarks in ye Black
Town & Mutial Peta
m Armenian Church
n Bridge Street
o Clarks Gate
p English Burying
Place
q Hane Street
r Herb Market
s Great Pagoda
t Armenians Bu
rying Place
u Portugees Bury
ing Place
w Middle Gate St
x Chitee Street
y Moors Street
z Comatee Street
1 Mulbas Street
2 Chitee Street
3 Fisher Street
4 Moors Burying
Place
PETE
A NAIGUE
Tank
Plannne
Gardens
Coco
Gardens
Cornells
Garden
Four Brothers
Garden
Company
Fruit
Gardens
BLACK TOWN
MUTIAL PETA
St. Thomas Pt.
Half Moon
Fishing Pt.

CHAPTER V

CONSTRUCTION

The fort was built on the square form common at the time, as in Pulicat, with a bastion at each angle. (A bastion is "a work consisting of two faces and two flanks, all the angles being salient; usually designed to defend an adjacent curtain", or wall). It measured 108 yards from north to south and 100 yards from east to west. In the centre of the square was a domed building, which was probably built first.

Judging from a map in Fryer's book of 1673, the earliest evidence available, this building stood diagonally to the square, each of its faces defending the gorge of a bastion. It housed the junior employees of the fort. Around it was the square inner fort, or citadel. The bastions, which were built of brick in mud and cased with "iron stone", or laterite, brought from the Red Hills, some twenty miles away, were defended by brass cannon.

On the twelfth day of the commencement of the work on the fort on March 1, a great storm blew and destroyed both the Eagle and the Unity in the roads. Thus the historic ships perished. The Eagle did ride out the storm, but was cast away off Alamparai. The company suffered a heavy loss, only a part of the cargo being ultimately recovered. The ship's commander, Jonathan Carter, was charged with negligence and sent to Surat a prisoner.

Though the initial fort was a small building, it took the English thirteen years to complete it. Before 1640 ended the south-east bastion was built and armed with guns. Then followed the north-east one. In 1642 the third, probably at the north-west, was erected. Only at a later period was the fourth built. The curtains connecting the bastions rose slowly. Between 1644 and 1652 one was completed and two others begun. Greenhill, who succeeded Ivy as Agent in 1648, completed these two in 1652. The last one, on the east, was added in 1653.

This was the original fort completed in thirteen years. In 1714 it was reconstructed as the Fort Square. From a map of about

1710 it can be seen that on plan "four battlemented curtain walls were disposed in a square whose sides were about 60 yards in length. At the angles were four large bastions, also battlemented, the salient points of which were about 100 yards apart. The western curtain was pierced by the Fort Gate, and there was a smaller opening in the east curtain giving access to the factory or Fort House. This building...seems to have replaced...an earlier domed edifice which was built diagonally to the square of the fort so that the walls directly faced the gorges of the bastions with the object probably of defending them. The centre of the fort was distant some 190 yards from the sea on the east, and 110 from the river on the west".

Outside this fort, also called 'the Castle', Europeans, mainly Portuguese from Santhome, built houses. After Mir Jumla, who first came to the Coromandal coast as a Golconda general, besieged the fort in 1657, it was realised that these civil constructions needed to be defended. So walls with bastions were built on all the sides except the west, where the river served for defence.

To the north of this outer fort or 'White Town' an Indian town of merchants, weavers and dyers developed. Two gates in the north wall led to it from the fort. In the seventeenth century Madras was the inner and outer forts, the European quarter and the 'Black Town' north of the latter, protected by earthern walls. There was a market place between the outer fort and the 'Black Town'.

The Fort House was pulled down in 1694-5 and a new one built eastwards where a part of the Government Secretariat stands today. A map drawn for Thomas Pitt, who was Agent in 1710, shows its new position. It also names the streets within the fort and marks a hospital, a town hall, and a carpentry yard in addition to the older major buildings.

It is not easy to account for the fort's name given after Saint George. Work on the fort began on March 1, 1640, which is the date from which the cost of the fortifications is calculated in the East India Company's charges against Cogan (to be discussed below). So no part of it could possibly have been completed by St. George's Day, which falls on April 23. It

must be assumed that it was named after England's patron saint in a general sense.

The fort was not built so smoothly as this narration might suggest. The English were in perpetual need of money. Time and again they appealed to Surat. Cogan wrote from Masulipatam on October 14, 1640, 'The worke now is in a good forwardness. If it proove good and beneficiall to our Masters (as wee doubt not off), the honnour will Redound to you; And therefore you, as you tender your owne honnour, the honour of our Nation, and the honour and proffitt of our Masters, must not only strengthen it with men and materialls, but with meanes to Imploy such people as comes from our Neighbours to Inhabitt with us. At present wee are neere 400 families who daily increase, to the noe small vexation of our loveing neighbours; but as now they now hasten to us in hopes of gaine, if they faile in their expectations through not giveing them Imployment, they must and will away again'.

The same letter states that, on finding that the Nayak did not intend to provide money to build the fort, Day had offered to pay the interest on any borrowings. But he had had second thoughts and asked to be relieved of the obligation. It was for Surat to decide.

Next month, on November 27, Masulipatam again pleaded with Surat for money 'to Imploy our Inhabytants at Madraspatam, without which we feare theil leave us to the shame and dishonour of our Nation.... For what is it but to loose all yf, beinge posest of a pile of stone, which will cost noe small matter the keepinge, and noe people to Come neere it, thereby to raise some Utilitie to defray the Charge'.

Masulipatam suggested that Day be held to his promise to pay the interest on any borrowings, a sum of three or thousand pagodas being needed now. He was allowed to go to Surat to 'Conferr with you conserneinge it, else must he have ben as bigg as his word er he had gone from hence'. But Surat relieved Day of the burden he had voluntarily assumed. However, there were some complaints against him and Surat decided to send him to England to answer them. He was in England in July, 1641. Apparently the company did not think much of the accusations, and he was

back in Madras on July 4, 1642.

This is to anticipate. Surat was unreceptive to Masulipatam's repeated requests for money. It knew, or sensed, that London was hostile to the construction of the fort because of its grave difficulties in England and might call those responsible to account. In a few years both Cogan and Day were, in fact, asked to explain.

Surat was concerned to defend itself from any charge of having approved the construction. Forwarding the letters from Masulipatam to the company, it added, 'From theire forementioned letters you will find(though somewhat untruly introduced) how you became ingaged in the founding and Erecting a New Fort on that Coast, when your old Ruinous building at Armagon was deserted. It hath bine a continued Tenant (that is, tenet) among as many of your Servants as have bine imployed in those parts, That Goods, especially Paintings, cannot be procured, nor secured when acquired, unlesse you have some place of your owne to protect the workemen from the fraequent inforcements of those tyranous Governors and to lodge your Goods free of the mischievous Attempts which those treacherous Gentues or Inhabitants of that Country are too often ready to adfer against them.

'Such a place (rather plot of ground) whose site and conveniences are in the Agents etc letters largely discussed, being for ought we heare or know to the contrary offered by that Nague to Fra. Day and that offer furthered by him to the Agent etc. notice, He was directed to take a veiw of it and to treat with the Nague about his confirmation of sundry Immunities and priviledges they would have graunted unto them if the ground liked them. All which was readily effected, the place liked, Their Propositions consented unto and approved, and the Naigue by promise ingaged to be at the charge himselfe for erecting a substantiall fortification.

'This unexpected successe and unparraleld kindness in the Naigue were by Fra. Day emphatically notified to the Agent etc. They upon notice thereof hasten these growing hopes of a new, nimble and most cheape Plantation, which we more admired than Credited, And therefore advized them that although they

sholud find that Naigue miraculously inclyned so liberally, freindly, and more really than could enter our beleife, to deale with them, yet they should proceed cautelously, Enquiring first into the causes that induced the Naigue to be so good unto them, And so by circumstances learne his Intendments; since it was not probable that these his Curtesies were so freely bestowed to gaine our freindship only, but rather by our vicnity to secure himself from his Neighbours growing greatnes and to have (when this Fort should be created) a safe place to retire into and theare by our assistance defend himselfe'.

The self-exculpation proceeds, 'And thus having prescribed the utmost of Caution in this proceeding, we licensed them to accept the Fort the Naigue promised to build for them; whereupon Andrew Cogan on the Eagle voyaged to Armagon, brought thence whatever belonged to you unto this new guift of the Naigue, Madrazpatam. But when he had done so, and invited the Naigue to goe in hand with the worke, and so performe what he had undertaken, It seemes there was no such thing meant; for he replyed; The Linguist had misread his intentions; That he promised nothing but the ground and some other petty Assistances, And that he had neyther monies nor materialls wherewith to commence, much lesse to perfect, so great a worke. However, your People being now come thither, and finding the ground very convenient for such a service as intended, began to lay the foundation, advized us what had passed twixt the Naigue and them, and that you must now pay for the erection of the Fort if you meant to have one, for they being so farr ingaged in the Action could not with reputation desert the place or desist from building, though the Naigue had thus faltered with them".

Surat then congratulates itself on its own sagacity, 'We blamed theire indiscretion or negligence that would not better understand the Naigue, prescribed continuance of care and caution to prevent greater mischeifes that might through that Peoples treachery befall them, and enjoyned them, since they were resolved to prosecute the workes, to proceed faire and softly, in expectation of what you might please to enorder in affaires of this nature'.

The settlement had developed. 'And thus, though the Portu-

galls of St. Tome opposed theire proceedings what they might, yet they have so prospered that the building is now in good forwardness, and 3 or 400 families of Weavers, Painters and other Artificers come to live under your protection. So that it is become a place of great hopes, whence (if Mr Cogans etc relations may be Credited) you may acquire yearly very great quantities of Long Cloth for England, and Paintings and many other sortments of Stuffes and Cloathing vendible at Bantam and your other Residencies subordinate to that Presidency. The other conveniences and proffits that may from this Fort accrue to you intimated in the Agent etc letters are in probability acquirable, and will deserve your consideration and owning, And should, we thinke, Encline you to improve them yet more to your advantage by furnishing in ample manner meanes to their acquiry'.

However, while willing enough to expect that the fort would succeed, Surat would not accept responsibility for building it. 'If you are pleased to read the severall Circumstances more particularly described, the letters passant twixt us and your Agent etc, wryt in the Moneths of June, July and August will plainely and fully declare them; and yet among them you will not find that we positively ordered the building of that fort, as the Agent etc in theire letter to you (herewith sent) falsely intimate'.

Surat was right in reporting that the fort was prospering. About six months after work began on it, 'proclamation was made in the Companies name that for the terme of thirty years noe custome of things to be eaten, dranke or worne shall be taken of any of the towne dwellers'. The immunity attracted a number of settlers. Early in 1641 there were seventy or eighty houses, according to the Dutch in Pulicat. Surat, in the letter extracts from which appear above, said that there were between three and four hundred even before this, about the end of 1640.

When Day returned from England to Madras in July, 1642, he found that the construction of the fort was proceeding slowly, but that the number of inhabitants had increased, including many Portuguese and 'mestizas', or Eurasians. One of the early settlers was Thomas Clarke, son of the Agent in Masulipatam before Ivy. Pulicat wrote to Batavia on September 4, 1641, 'Their fortress at Madraspatanam ...... still made little progress;

the second bastion had reached the height of a man. They seemed, however, to adhere to their resolution, as soon as they obtained means, to build the fortress with four bastions as marked off'.

During Day's absence Madras was made the chief Agency on the coast. On September 15, 1641 'Andrew Cogan imbarqued himself uppon the Advice for Madraspatan, where the 24th he arrived'. In December that year 'the great Naique', probably Damarla Venkatapathi, 'cam to visit us' on the 15th 'The 21 ditto our greate Naique went on boord our shipp, having never till then byn on salt water; wee enterteyned him and all his followers both on board and ashoare in the best manner wee coold, but not as he expected, for he made account of a far larger pish-cash, and the rather because he added to our privilidges the Custome free of all his country'.

The Madras factors had now to reckon with the fact that London was accusing them and Surat of having built the fort without permission. On January 27, 1642, Surat, apparently in reply to a letter conveying its displeasure, again denied responsibility, but added, 'By what wee have heard of it, the Fort is conveniently enough scited, and may serve you to many good purposes; and therfore since you have bine pleased to referr its maintenance or dissolution to our doome, we have seriously considered of it, and at last resolved to stand till your next yeares Battery'.

This passage makes it clear that the fort lay under the risk of being abandoned. Surat held its hand. But the Madras factors were perturbed. Writing to Bantam on September 20, 1642, they said, 'Wee are very sencible how ridiculous wee have made ourselves by doeing what is done, and lye at our Masters mercies'. But, remarkably enough, to London Madras presents a bold front.

Along with Day had come letters from London condemning the building of the fort. Madras is grieved that what it had done was not acceptable to the company; 'it even breaks some of our hearts'. But still it is convinced that the fort is a good investment. 'If so be your Worships will follow this Coast trade (or rather the Karnatt) this place may prove as good as the best; but all things must have its growth and time."

The long letter continues, 'Our vicinite with St. Thoma is no impediment, at least to us, for only the town of St. Thoma belongs to the Naique of Tanjour, and round about, even their very dores, is our Naiques, who keeps them in such awe that they must eat and drinke uppon the matter when he please. What time may worke our Naique to wee cannot devine, but hitherto wee have found him still as good as his word, onely in the Forts erection (the Mayne thing of all); but in that thing he excuseth himself, and did excuse himself ere Mr Day left this place, for he professed never to promise Mr Day any such thing; which caused Mr Day to proffer freely to pay the Interest of all the monies that shoold be expended till the Forte was finished, and so much was written to Surrat before Mr Day went thither and when he went; but your worshipps will not allow of any Charge of (at) all, neyther in building or payeing of Garrison, but will that all the Charge be bourne by the Naique, that invited us hither......'.

Madras argues the case for the fort. 'It is our opinion, in regaurd the Moores and Gentues are false and not to be trusted, and that at all times you may Command your owne uppon all the Coast, 'tis very necessarie you have a place to retire to under your owne Command. 'Tis not only our opinions, but the Opinions of your Presidents of Bantam and Surrat... The Dutch saw the necessitie of it 30 years since, which made them proceed upon Pullicatt, to their unreasonable expence in moneys, besides losse of men, ere brought to perfection ... But wee beseech you, if these people build us a forte and pay the Garrison, in what securitie is your Estate and our lives? Surely in none at all, for it is farr more freedome to Live without a Forte than within, unless the Forte be at its owne devotion

'But this Forte of yours, if your worshipps did butt followe this trade as it might be followed, or that you had but two or three small vessells to voyage it too and againe to draw trade thither, all your Charges woold bee bourne with advantage. But if your worshipps are resolved absolutely to leave this trade of Karnatt, advise us, and you shall not be a pice Looser for what worke is done and monies disbursed; which being so, and that your worshipps conclude of one of the two wayes, wee hope to

heare of noe More of the Forte'.

Further, Madras points out, the English were living under oppression in Masulipatam. In fact, the Agent ran the risk of being seized if he went there and taken to Golconda as a hostage for the good behaviour of his countrymen. As for Armagon, it was insufferable.

Then the factors deny that they have been living extravagantly as London had alleged. 'At present here wee have two horses, boath not worth their meat; and at Messilupatam you have only one and a Coach with two old Oxen past labour, insomuch as about a month since wee enordered them to give them their libertie to graze and fatt themselves against some shippe came or eate them in the Factory. Thers all the Coast pride. For the Agent hath neither his Flaggs, his rundalers (umbrella bearers), his torches, his fencers, his drumers (?) on horseback, his fidlers, his horses or horse of state, nor (and which is not a little admired at) his Pallenkeine, nor are your servants in Messilupatam allowed any for their owne occasions. As for our expence of diett it cannot possible be brought lower then 'tis; for at Massilupatam they spend about 20 pagodas old per month, all things accompted, for matter of dyett, and wee, being here at table constantly nine, oftentimes twelve, besides strangers comers and goers, expend about 30 pagodas new a month; with which some wee cannot often feast it, for as for Servants wee have now so few that wee cannot have lesse and do your business'.

Cogan vigorously defends himself against the company's particular censure. 'Your worshipps apply yourselves holely to Andrew Cogan, as if so be that he had no Councell, or that all were done of his owne braine. Hitherto it hath not been so, for all matters of consequence and novell hath byn first maturely considered of in Consultation. But if such consultations should, as too often they have provid ill contrary to expectation, who ought or ought any to be blamed? 'Tis granted that Andrew Cogan had your order, or the President etc of Surat for the dismantling of Armagon, for to that President etc your worshipps made us subordinate, and so consequently to be ordered and directed, for they writt to us in this manner concerning Armagon'.

Cogan was chagrined at the company's charge. So, he said, he had asked Bantam to appoint a new head in Madras. He proposed to hand over charge to Day and proceed to Bantam as soon as possible. But he did not leave, as his colleagues remonstrated, and, in the spring of 1643, Bantam directed him to remain untilLondon sent orders.

Accidentally, however, Cogan found an opportunity to sail to Bantam. He went there at the end of November. There he obtained leave to return to England. He arrived in January, 1644. Thus, one of the two founders of Fort St. George finally left India.

But he was far from free of its entanglements. The ship which carried him to England conveyed a letter from Bantam which, while defending the construction of the fort, sought to throw the blame on Day. 'And heere we supposse it's not amiss to lett your Worships understand that Mr Francis Day was the first projecture and Contriver of that Forte or Castle in Madrasspatan, which another with a greite deale of discontent, laboure and paines hath now brought to some good pass, being a place of securitie on that Coast as the onelie place of secured saiftie with that Title of honoure (Castle) that ever our nation enjoyed in East India, and therefore in our opinions to bee highlie esteemed. And for its cost it's certaine that if your Worships continew the Indian Trade, in few yeares it will not onelie quitt its owne Charge but allsoe produce benefitt and put monies into your Purses by bringeing a Trade thether, raiseing a Custome there, paying of duties by the inhabitants neere adjoyning, and being replenisht with Merchants Weavers (etc) whereby you may have all things necessarie and convenient for you under your owne command; and happy and gladd wilmanie bee (wherein you will find the benefitt) to come and live under our nation and bee protected by them'.

The letter blames the absent Day. 'With Mr Andrew Cogan... wee have had some discourse touching the Fort at Madraspatan, which certainlie was at first projected by Mr Ffrancis Day and doubtless Mr Cogan would never have erected it without greate Incouragement thereto by some that might then best doe it'.

Attempting to mollify the company, Bantam invents a source of income near the fort. 'Theirto is an Iland scituated in the river, under the command of the castle, whereon is likelie to bee made a greate quantitie of Salt yearlie, which is one of the constantest commodities in all these Easterne parts, and much monies are gotton thereby everywhere'. Salt manufacture on the Island is a phantom of early Madras history.

Whether or no the company was impressed by these arguments, it found 'other grounds of suspicion' against Cogan and set up a committee on July 10, 1644, to review his conduct as Agent. The charges included the inevitable one of private trading. The first accusation was, 'To answere the building of the Fort St. George, the charge whereof hath cost from the first March, 1639 (actually 1640) to the 30th June, 1643 the sum of pagodas new 9250'.

Cogan made an able defence. He would waive a preliminary procedural objection. The company had ordered that all disputes 'growinge in India should there be ended, to avoide your trouble at home, and so present trouble'. Despite this, he would answer the charges.

His main contention was that 'the President and Councell of Suratt did enorder the building Ditto Fort; and I ought not to be blamed had yt cost far more than yt hath'. Tracing the developments, he said, 'About July 1639 when the coast was subordinate to Bantam, Mr Ivy being the Chief on the coast, Mr Fra. Day was imploied to treate with the Naique of Madraspatam for a plot of ground within his country to fortifie upon; which being graunted and Articles drawen between the Naigue and Day in the companies name, he the said Day returns to Masulipatnam, and acquaintes Mr Ivy etc how farr he had proceeded. Thereupon a consultation was called, and in that consultation yt was resolved that Mr Day should return from Armagon and from thence houlde faire and good correspondenceye with ditto Naigue until we had advized to Bantam and from thence have order to proceede upon that worke. In September '39 by Conveyance of the Danes, we dispeeded to Bantam the articles of Agreement and also Mr Days relacon of that place.

'In October '39 the coast by the Companies order became

subordinate to Suratt, from whence (and not from Bantam) wee daily expect order what to doe. For notwithstanding the Companies positive order to dismantell Armagon, yet, say the President and Councell of Suratt, before you do yt let us know the convenience or inconveniencye of that place, and alsoe let us know the monthely charges of yt and how yt is in repairs etc; Unto which (after wee had by letter conferred with Mr Day) wee answered in November '39 that the fort of Armagon was much oute of repaire and would require some thousands of rialls to make yt only habitable. Alsoe wee tould them that Mr Ivy some monethis since had imploied Mr Day to treate with the Naigue of Madraspatam as aforesaid, sent them the articles of agreement and Mr Dayes relacion of the place; and concluded that if they approve of the busines wee would proceed upon the worke'.

Cogan asserted that, in fact, Surat had, in its reply to this, approved the building of the fort. Some of the letters exchanged between Surat and Masulipatam at the time the fort was being projected are lost. But one of those that have survived (already quoted) clearly states that Surat did not approve. 'If you are pleased to read the severall Circumstances,...the letters passant twixt us and your Agent etc (in Masulipatam) wryt in the Moneths of June, July and August (1639) will plainely and fully declare them; and yet among them you will not find that we positively ordered the building of that Fort, as the Agent etc in theire letter to you falsely intimate'. It may perhaps be charitably assumed that Cogan did really believe that Surat had approved. All that can be said on the available evidence is that it did not do so in set, positive terms.

The second charge Cogan had to answer was that the fort was 'overchargeable' or too expensive. His reply is convincing. 'Yt is saeid yt hath alreadye cost 9250 pagodas; if so, your bookes will make yt appeare to which I refer myself; yet doe beleeve, upon better viewinge the accompts, that Some will be much lessned, unless (you include) your accompt on Charges merchandize, charges shippinge, charges Dyett, Servants Wages and interest etc; which if you doe, then yt may amounte to such a summ, else not; for as for the charges above saied, yt cannot

be denyed but charges of dyett would have appeared wither the Fortt had gone on or no; so would Charge shippinge charge merchandize (if goods had beene bought) and servants wages'.

Further, the cost had risen because interest had to be paid on borrowed money. Day had offered to bear the responsibility for the interest, but Surat had 'uppon his earnest intreatye remitted it'. Cogan adds ungenerously, 'His unadvisedness in matters of such importance should have been punished more severely to teach others more caution in their severall treaties with such perfidious false people'.

The committee asked Cogan 'whither the fort be finished, or howe farr yt is proceeded'. He replied, 'Three bulwarcke and the Tower in the midst is finished, and 34 pieces of Ordnance mounted er I came from thence, and some parte of the Materialls provided to goe on with the rest. But for your better information I heerewith present your worshipps with a Mapp or draught of the Fortt as yt was at first intended, and by which you may more plaineiy see whats donne and whats to doe'. This map is lost. Had it survived, it would be invaluable.

The other charges bore on private trading. Cogan seems to have cleared himself of them. On May 13, 1645, less than a year after it had been set up, the committee, so much more prompt than most modern committees, delivered its verdict, 'A very indiscreete action to goe about the building of such a Fort when the Companies stocke was soe small, yett if ever the Companie have a plentiful stock it may bee very comodious and advantagious for them; and since it was the joynt act of all the factors there, and not soly or particularly of Mr Cogans, and if it should not proove soe advantagious for the Companie heareafter, it can bee charged upon noe man more justly then on Mr Day; and this committee were joyntly of opinion to cleare Mr Cogan of is Charge'.

With this Cogan disappears from the history of Fort St. George. But a chequered career still lay ahead of him. A few months after he was cleared by the committee, he offered his services to the Directors and also a contribution of £ 3,000 for investment in a cargo. He was evidently rich. The company declined his offers. Thereupon, he settled down as a country

gentleman. But he was soon drawn into the civil war between king and Parliament which was then raging.

Cogan was a royalist, and a parliamentary committee for the 'Advance of Money' demanded and secured from him a forced loan of £ 400. In 1648 he was one of eleven thousand royalists of Kent who marched upon London. The attempt failed, and many of the royalists fled to the continent. In June, 1650, he was impeached as an absentee malignant, and his estate was confiscated and granted by Cromwell to Gregory Clement on lease for seven years. Clement was one of the judges at the king's trial. He had served in India, at Surat, Ahmedabad and Agra. Before the lease expired he bought the estate outright.

Meanwhile, Cogan had been beggared and lived a penurious life in Holland. He estimated his losses in the royal cause at £34,000, a big sum those days. Charles II could only create him a baronet. He returned to England after the Restoration in 1660, but was in very poor circumstances. His elder daughter petitioned the king for compensation out of the lost estate. She said that he was in danger of being imprisoned for debt. It is not known whether the petition succeeded. Cogan died shortly after it was presented. He had two daughters, and his baronetcy descended to his elder son-in-law, Charles Musgrave, another staunch royalist.

Day followed Cogan finally to England in 1644. From August 27, 1643, to August 4, 1644, he was Agent in Madras. He was succeeded by Thomas Ivy, who rather flits in and out of the early history of the fort.

Nothing is known of Day after this. He was what would today be called a petty bourgeois, unlike Cogan, who had pretensions to gentility, being the son-in-law of a knight, himself a baronet and the founder of a landed family. Day was once accused of drinking and roystering. But in India at any rate he acted with energy and decisiveness. While Cogan is entitled to his share of renown as a founder of the fort, the main force was Day Cogan, as his official superior, supported him (but not when the responsibility was being debated). However, it was Day's determination to leave Armagon that was the principal immediate reason for the founding of the fort.

CHAPTER VI

VISITORS

At the time the civil war was raging in England the Coromandal coastal area was embroiled in fighting. But then there was virtually no year of the seventeenth century in which there was not some fighting somewhere or other in this region. Day's Agentship was dominated by the impending fall of the Vijayanagar power. The Dutch too were becoming aggressive. 'Warrs and broyls', in a phrase appearing in a Fort St. George 'Consultation' of December 29, 1642, persisted for a long time.

Sriranga, the last of the Vijayanagar Rayas, came to the throne in 1642 to confront a situation much of it of his own making. As if the chronic insubordination of the southern Nayaks, particularly of Madurai, was not enough, he had invited the Sultans to invade the kingdom under his uncle and predecessor, Venkatapahi. Muslim invasion and civil war were devastating the coast. This had effects on the fort.

In December, 1642, the factors 'latelie raised a third Bulwarke of turfe; and wanting guns to mount thereon, have resolved that the Advice (a ship) shall spare us foure Minion for that purpose'.

In October, 1645, they resolved to depute Henry Greenhill on a mission to Sriranga in Vellore 'for the reconfirmation of what was graunted unto Mr Cogen by the great Nague (Venkatapathi), under whose protection formerly wee live'd but now the Kinge (Sriranga) hath taken his power and protection is of noe longer value. Soe now findeing a fitting opportunity, wee doubt not but to have our old priviledges reconfirme'd, with the Adition of a great many more, by this now Reigneing King'.

What Sriranga granted was new territory, the 'Jaccall ground', 'Narimedu', or 'Hog's Hill', where the Central Station and the General Hospital now stand.

The fort enjoyed no prosperous trade in this time of turmoil. There was a severe famine in 1647. The fort was unable to carry on any trade, and Surat had to send it a grain ship to save it from starvation. London's policy towards it was erratic. In 1653 it made it an independent presidency, but the very next year its staff was drastically reduced to two factors and ten

soldiers. In the result, the Dutch seized the trade and English interlopers abounded. But in 1658 the fort was made the principal settlement on the east coast.

The fort fell only once to an enemy, to the French in 1746. But in the seventeenth century it was attacked four times and threatened on another occasion. In 1653 Neknam Khan, a Golconda general, threatened to blockade it, and in 1657 it was actually besieged by Mir Jumla, the more celebrated Golconda general. Thirteen years later Neknam Khan blockaded it. In 1690 a French fleet attacked it. In the second year of the new century Daud Khan blockaded it.

The fort as it stands today is as an extensive reconstruction which ended in 1783 has left it. But many visitors in the seventeenth century have described the old fort at various times.

Gautier Schouten, a Dutch surgeon, who was in India from 1658 to 1665, has little to say about the fort. He refers to 'Madrispatnam or Chinnapatnam or St. George'. Perhaps this suggests that the three localities which were originally separate had coalesced by the time Schouten saw them.

Philip Baldaeus, a Dutch clergyman, whose book, 'Naauwkeurige Bescryvinge van Malabar en Choromandel', published in 1672, is an important work, has just one sentence; 'From Tirepoplier (Tirupapuliyur, now a part of Cuddalore New Town in South Arcot district) you go to Poelezere (Pondicherry), Polelemoer and Alembrue (probably Alamparai) to Sadraspatan (Sadras), where the Dutch have a factory, and from thence to Madraspatan, otherwise Chinnepatan, where the English have the Fort St. George, garison'd with Topatzes (Indo-Portuguese soldiers), and Mistices (Eurasians), and from thence they send their Ships every year as well as from Surat'. The English translation of the Dutch book appeared in 1704-1732.

The earliest description of the fort as such appears in another Dutch book, 'Op-en-Ondergang van Cormandel', by Daniel Havart, which was published in 1693. 'Having passed the Mount, one arrives at the town of Madraspatam, which is very strongly built like a castle in the European manner, and provided with four bastions. Inside, there is a little fort, also with four bastions, built of iron stone, but without a moat. Within dwell the English

Governor and certain English of note. The remaining English (for they possess the whole town) live outside or in the city; the Castle is called St. George'.

Dominic Navarette, a Spanish priest, appears to have visited Madras about 1670. He is perhaps the first foreigner to notice with astonishment the 'masula' boats of the coast, a fruitful theme for many other visitors. 'Here the English have a noble Fort; they have also other walls, but small, within which live all the Portugueses, who after the losing of Jafnapatan, Negapatan, and St. Thomas, went to seek places to dwell. The English receiv'd them, and they live under their protection and government... There is neither port nor water; this last they get out of some small wells they have digged. Ships lie safe six months; then they go away till the fair weather comes again... It is in about twelve or thirteen degrees of north latitude, and an excellent climate; any nice man may live there; the conveniency of buying clothes is great, all those people living upon it'.

'The Countries round the Bay of Bengal' by Thomas Bowrey, which was published only in 1905, contains a long description. Bowrey, a sailor, came to Madras in 1669 and returned to England in 1687. He writes, 'The begeninge of my residence, or first Part of my Arrival (in India Orientalis) was att Fort St. Georg's, an English Garrison Upon the Coast of Choromandel ... This Fort and towne, which is very Considerable, is scituated very neare the Sea, indifferent well populated by the English, and wholy Governed by them, very well fortified and Surrounded with very potent and Strong Bulwarks, Points and Batteries, within which many Portugals are admitted to dwell, beinge subject to our English Government ...

'This Fort lyeth in Latitude North 13d 10″, and is not at any time very cold or on the Contrary Verry hott, haveinge the full benefit of all Sea breezes of wind, but in these following Months, May and June, although there be for the most part fresh gales, yet it is something Sulphurous, which may most of all be alledged to the wind it Selfe more then to the heat of the Sun...

'It is without all dispute a beneficiall place to the Honourable East India Company, and withall the Residence of theire Honourable Agent and Governour of all their Affaires Upon

this Coast and the Coast of Gingalee, the Kingdoms also of Orixa, Bengala and Pattana, the said Governour and his Councell here residinge, for the Honour of our English Nation keepinge and maintaineinge the place in great Splendour, Civil and good Government, Entertaineinge nobly all Foraign Embassadors, and provideinge great quantities of Muzlinge, Callicoes etc, to be yearly transported to England...

'The native inhabitants are for the most part Gentiles (commonly called Gentues) and Mallabars, many of whom live within the Outermost walls of this place called Fort St. Georg's. I have heard it reported, and can well give credit thereto, that there are noe lesse than fourty thousand of them, vizt, men, women and Children that live under St. Georg's flagge, and pay customes for all Sorts of goods they buy and Sell within the Compasse or Command of our Guns'.

Dr John Fryer who came to Madras in July, 1673, provides the best description in the seventeenth century. 'As it looked on the Water, it (the fort) appeared a Place of good force. The Outwork is walled with Stone a good heighth, thick enough to blunt a Cannonbullet, kept by half a dozen Ordnance at each side the Water-Gate (the old Sea Gate, which was in the middle of the eastern outer wall), besides an Halfmoon (a semi-circular battery near the Sea Gate) of five Guns. At both Points (the north-east and south-east bastions of the outer fort) are mounted twelve Guns eying the Sea, Maderas and St. Thomas; under these in a line stand Pallisadoes, reaching from the Wall to the Sea, and hedge in at least a Mile of ground. On the South side they have cut a Ditch a sufficient depth and width to prevent scaling the wall, which is a quarter of a Mile in length afore it meets a third Point or Bastion, facing St. Thomas, and the adjacent Fields who suffer a Deluge when the Rains descend the Hills. From this point to the Fourth, where are lodged a Dozen Guns more that grin upon Maderas, runs no wall but what the Inhabitants compile for their Gardens and Houses planted all along the River parallel with that that braves the Sea. From the first point a Curtain is drawn with a Parapet; beneath it are two Gates, and Sally Ports to each for to enter Maderas; over the Gates five Guns run out their Muzzels, and two more within

them on the Ground'.

Fryer then describes the inner fort; 'Over all these the Fort it selfe lifts up its Four Turrets, every Point of which are loaded with Ten Guns alike. The Forms of the Bastions are Square, sending forth Curtains fringed with Battlements from one to the other; in whose interstitiums whole Culverin are traversed. The Governor's House in the middle overlooks all, slanting diagonally with the Court. Entring the Garrison at the Out-Gate towards the Sea, a Path of broad polished Stones spreads the way to pass the Second Guard into the Fort at an humble Gate; opposite to this one more stately fronts the High-street; on both sides thereof is a Court of Guard, from whence, for everyday's duty, are taken Two hundred Men; There being in pay for the Honourable East India Company of English and Portuguez 700, reckoning the Montrosses (gunners' assistants) and Gunners'.

The streets of the town outside the inner fort, called the White or Christian Town, were 'sweet and clean, ranked with fine Mansions of no extraordinary Height (because a Garrison Town) though Beauty, which they conciliate by the Battlements and Tarras Walks on every House and Rows of Trees before their Doors whose Italian Porticos make no ordinary conveyance into their Houses built with Brick and Stone. Edifices of common note are none, except a small Chappel the Portuguese are admitted to say Mass in (Church of St. Andrew). Take the Town in its exact proportion, and it is Oblong'.

A 'wide Parrade which is used for a Buzzar or Mercate-place' divided the White Town from the Indian. 'Maderas, then, divides it selfe into divers Long Streets, and they are chequered by as many transverse. It enjoys some Choultries for Places of Justice; one Exchange; one Pagod contained in a square Stone wall...... The buildings of less note are Low and Decent; the Town is walled with Mud and Bulwarks for Watch places for the English Peons, only on that side the Sea washes it and the Fort meets it. On the North are two great Gates of Brick and one on the West, where they wade over the River to the Washermen Town. Its Map renders it a Trapezium by an Oblique Stroke of the River on that Corner and another next the Sea'.

Fryer's account contains some errors of fact. From north to

south the outer fort extended about a third of a mile, and not 'at least a mile', and its southern face was not 'a quarter of a mile', long, but less than two hundred yards. The map which appears in his book, the first to survive, is erroneous in some details. Still, the description and the map are valuable.

Captain Dampier, who was in Madras in 1690, wrote in his book, 'A New Voyage round the World', published nine years later, that Madras is a place - well known to my Countrymen'. He is perhaps the first of foreign visitors to observe that Madras makes a fine sight from the sea. 'I was much pleased with the Beautiful prospect this place makes off at Sea. For it stands in a a plan Sandy spot of Ground close to the shore, the Sea sometimes washing its walls which are of Stone and high, with Half Moons and Flankers, and a great many Guns mounted on the battlements; so that what with the Walls and fine Buildings within the Fort, the large Town of Maderas without it, the Pyramids of the English Tombs, Houses and Gardens adjacent, and the variety of fine Trees scatter'd up and down, it makes as agreeable a Landskip as I have any where seen'.

An imaginative Indian work of the times contains a brief reference to Madras. 'Visvagunadarsa Champu', a Sanskrit book written by Venkatadhvari, who is believed to have lived between 1590 and 1660, takes two Gandharvas, Krisanu and Visvavasu, on an 'aerial flight' of India from Badri in the north to the Tamraparni in the south. As they pass by, they comment on what they see below.

Visvavasu sees the good in everything, while Krisanu notes only the bad. As they pass over seventeenth century Madras, Visvavasu draws attention to Triplicane and the Sri Parthasarathi temple there. He says that the people of Triplicane are unwearied in the study of Vedanta, do good as long as they physically can, and consider honour as wealth. But Krisanu objects that the presence nearby of the utterly heartless white men detracts from the sanctity of the temple. A more despicable people than the whites it would be hard to find in the whole world. 'They do not even wash their feet'. Their crimes are innumerable.

Visvavasu replies that the 'Hunas' do not forcibly or unjustly

seize the wealth of others, do not lie, manufacture wonderful objects, and punish the guilty strictly according to law. They have defects, but they have also virtues.

The reference in the book to Madras is brief, consisting of only seven 'slokas'. The author was born in Arasanapalai, near Kanchipuram. He wrote one hundred and eight works. He must have written this 'champu' in the third quarter of the seventeenth century. He provides evidence that within a short time the English had created an impression on the local Indians, both in their virtues and in their defects.

From the first days the parts of the fortifications, the streets and such like within the fort were naturally enough named. But a 'Consultation' of February 27, 1688, says that, 'the Fort and Garrison and the Severall Points, Bulwarks and Batteries' were either under very odd or various uncertain names, and some without any, which may occasion neglects or mistakes upon a Suddain assault or Surprise'. It was then ordered that these names 'bee regulated and named more honourably and distinctly'.

The four 'Fort Points' were to called English, Scotch, French and Irish Points. The streets were to be named St. Thomas, James, Charles, 'Chowtry', Middle, Gloster and York Streets and York Lane. 'The Out Town Gates, Points and Streets' were to be 'likewise named and regulated'. Many of the street names still survive.

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CHAPTER VII

RECONSTRUCTION

From time to time in the seventeenth century and upto the occupation by the French from September, 1746, to August, 1749 alterations were made to the fortifications and civilian buildings in the fort. The sea, so close to the eastern face, was a perpetual danger. Thus, the factors wrote to the company on August 22, 1676, 'The sea having come very near your fortifications in a great storm about three years since, and gone off again as farr as ever it had been since Anno 1670, it has since the last yeare come still nearer and nearer'. Incidentally, this letter adds, 'We understand from elderly people hereabouts that the sea has been much farther off, ... but here is also a remembrance that before this it has come a great deal further into the land and gone off againe'. This note is familiar to students of Mamallapuram except that the sea there is not ever reported to have 'gone off'.

Next year, in 1677, it was found necessary to strengthen the Fort House. A 'Consultation' of November 1 states, 'The outward wall of the House in the Fort being found to be very crazy and tottering through badness of the foundation, and many cracks more and more appearing therein ... has allready obliged us to run up two Buttresses the last yeare to the North East, and one this yeare to the S. W. to support it'. At this time 'Muttamarra' was the 'chief Carpenter', and Nallana the 'chief Bricklayer'.

The most important civilian building constructed in the White Town in the seventeenth century was St. Mary's Church. Streynsham Master, who was Governor of the fort from 1678 to 1681, raised subscriptions. The foundations were laid on Lady's Day, 1678 and the building was completed in 1680. It was the first Anglican church in India.

While changes and additions were made as necessity dictated, the fort remained much as it was till the French occupation. Following the outbreak of the War of the Austrian Succession in Europe, in which the English and the French were on oppo-

site sides, a French fleet under Mahe de la Bourdonnais landed on the coast near where Vivekananda House (formerly called Ice House) stands and captured the fort after negligible resistance in three days. The French occupied it till August, 1749, when they relinquished it following the treaty of Aix-la-Chapelle concluded the previous year.

The French intended to hold Madras permanently. While they made no great changes within the fort, they completely altered the situation outside it. They destroyed the Indian houses in the 'Black Town' to a distance of four hundred yards from the north wall of the outer fort and, with the materials, formed a glacis ('an easy slope directly in front of, and designed to cover, a fortification in such a way that attacking troops must necessarily climb it under the fire of the guns on the ramparts of that side' of a fort) on the north and south fronts. Following this, Muthialpet and Peddanaickenpet became the new 'Black Town'. During the French occupation, Fort St. David, in Cuddalore, became the headquarters of the presidency.

As soon as the English recovered Madras, the company resolved to remodel the fortifications. They appointed an eminent engineer to undertake the task. Benjamin Robins who, in 1742, published a book on gunnery which was translated for Frederick the Great, and which became 'the standard text-book', arrived in India in 1750. He proposed the completion of an earlier scheme to extend the west front of the fort into the Island, diverting the course of the Elambore river. He also suggested fortifying the new 'Black Town'. But he died in 1751 'with his pen in his hand'. Frederick Scott succeeded him, but he too died without completing the task, in 1754.

When George Pigot became Governor next year, the plans began to fructify. Brohier took over, but in 1757 he left to plan Fort William in Calcutta. John Call, who succeeded him, carried out a considerable reconstruction until he retired in 1770. One of the chief contractors was Paul Benfield, later to earn notoriety in the Arcot Nawab debts imbroglio and to be denounced in set terms by Edmund Burke. Patrick Ross completed the plans. The second French siege in 1758-59 by Lally, which the defenders resolutely foiled under Stringer Lawrence and Pigot, caused consi-

derable damage within the fort as well as outside. All this had to be set right.

A feature of the reconstruction was that the Elambore river, flowing to the west of the fort, was diverted. The old river bed was filled with earth brought from 'Hog's Hill'. The whole of this hill, 214,000 cubic yards of earth, was cut away.

It was Call who gave the fort its 'final form and ultimate completion'. After Lally's siege ended, he suggested that the east and the north fronts be strengthened. In 1765 extensive alterations were sanctioned over a period of five years. Benfield, appointed Engineer of Madras, carried out large works. He also contracted for the building of the walls of the new 'Black Town', extending for three and a half miles on the northern and western bounds. A relic of this wall is what is now called 'Clive's Battery', near Coral Merchant Street.

Another programme was taken up in 1771. Many old houses, sold by the owners who left to live outside the fort, were replaced by barracks. Ross, as Chief Engineer, converted the fort 'from a half decagon into a semi-octagon'. (An octagonal fort has eight bastions).

What he did may be summarised thus in technical terms, 'A single large bastion, called St. George's, was substituted for the two bastions known as Pigot's and Lawrence's Bastions. The Nawab's Bastion on the south-west was greatly strengthened and the small St. Thomas' Bastion at the south-east corner was converted into a large demi-bastion. Strong ravelins (outworks of two faces meeting in a salient angle) were constructed before the curtains, each flanked by lunettes (works of two faces meeting at a salient). A wet ditch was dug round the enceinte (the principal line of fortifications surrounding a place) and also round the ravelins and their lunettes. The sea-front was rebuilt with indentations to afford flanking fire. A counter-guard (a narrow outwork before a bastion to prevent its wall being breached) was erected before the demi-bastion on the north-east and another before that of the south-east. The main work was casemated throughout and cisterns were built under the sea-wall to hold water supply for 6,000 men for four months'.

A 'casemate' is a 'vaulted chamber in a fortification for the

protection of troops, ammunition etc; especially a bomb-proof arch in the masonry, with embrasures for guns'.

The entire fort, including the outworks, as reconstructed by 1783, was over a hundred acres in extent. The interior enclosed about forty-two acres. It measured 620 yards from north to south, and 330 from east to west, In 1785 an English military engineer said that the fort was 'one of their (the company's) most noble Fortifications in India'. The reconstruction, an indirect result of the French siege in 1758-59, cost twenty-two lakhs of rupees in the first phase between 1752 and 1761 and fifty-two lakhs in the second between 1772 and 1783.

Soon after the reconstruction was completed two English artists drew views in the fort. Francis Ward, a soldier turned artist, painted a large number, many about 1785. These are of help towards a mental picture of the life in the fort. Thomas and William Daniell, uncle and nephew, who made an astonishing painting and drawing trip in India between 1785 and 1793, were in Madras in 1792. Their drawing of a storm about to break on the fort is well known. So is another depicting an Englishman being borne along in a palanquin in the 'Black Town', with the fort in the background.

Since 1783 there has been no fundamental change. But by 1862 the Fort Square disappeared. The sea has receded following the construction of the harbour in 1875.

There are some descriptions of the fort and the city in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Alexander Hamilton, an opinionated sailor, who spent long years in Asia, says in his book, 'A New Account of the East Indies', published in 1727, 'The Reason why a Fort was built in that Place is not well accounted for'. Of this 'Place' he writes, 'The Foundation is Sand, with a Salt-water River on its back Side, which obstructs all Springs of Fresh-water from coming near the Town, so that they have no drinkable Water within a Mile of them, the Sea often threatening destruction on one Side, and the River in the rainy Season Inundations on the Other; the Sun from April to September scorching hot, and if the Sea-breeses did not moisten and cool the Air when they blow, the Place could not possibly be inhabited'.

Hamilton accounts for the choice of the site, thus, 'Tradition says that the Gentleman who received his Orders to build a Fort on that Coast about the Beginning of King Charles II's Reign after his Restoration for protecting the Company's Trade chose that Place to ruin the Portugueze Trade at St. Thoma's... However, the War carryed on at Bengal and Bombay by the English against the Mogul's subjects from 1685 to 1689 made Fort St. George put on a better Dress than he wore before; for the peacable Indian Merchants, who hate Contention and War, came flocking thither because it lay far from those Incumberers of Trade and near the Diamond Mines of Gulcondah'.

Describing the town, Hamilton says that it is 'divided into two Parts. One, where the Europeans dwell, is called the white Town. It is walled quite round, and has several Bastions and Bulwarks to defend its walls, which can only be attacked at its Ends, the Sea and River fortifying its Sides. It is about 400 Paces long and 150 broad, divided into Streets pretty regular, and Fort St. George stood near its Center'.

'The Colony is well peopled', adds Hamilton, 'for there is computed to be 80,000 Inhabitants (Actually there were many more) in the Towns and Villages; and there are generally about 4 or 500 Europeans residing there, reckoning the Gentlemen, Merchants, Seamen and Soldiery. Their Rice is brought by Sea from Ganjam and Orixa, their Wheat from Surat and Bengal, and their firewood from the Island of Diu, a low point of land that lies near Matchulipatam, so that an Enemy that is superior to them in Sea Forces may easily distress them'.

An account of the fort and the city in 1715 appears in a French book, 'Memoires Historiques sur les Missions des Indes Orientales' by Father Norbert. He divides the city into three parts. The fort, where the Governor and some of the garrison live, is named after Saint George. The city proper, the 'Black Town', is contiguous to the fort. It is very big and is inhabited by officers, ministers of justice, merchants and other people of many nations. There are Armenians, Greeks, Danes, Muslims and 'Malabars'. The houses ane 'magnificent'. A simple wall surrounds this town. The third part, which may be called suburbs, contains a large number of inhabitants. The languages

spoken are 'Indolstan', Telugu, 'Malabar', Persian, Armenian, English and Portuguese.

'Anandaranga Campu', a Sanskrit work written by Srinivasa in 1752 on Anandaranga Pillai, the famous Dubash of Pondicherry, contains some references to Madras. Like 'Visvagunadarsa Campu' in the previous century, it states that the Indian name of the town was 'Chennakesavapura'. This statement it makes in two contexts. The name derives from the temple of Chennakesava which existed in Madraspatam before the English arrived there.

The 'campu' states that once Tiruvenkata Pillai, the diarist's father, journeyed to Madras from Pondicherry along with his two sons. He remained there for some time, carrying on a flourishing business. This was when Edward Harrison was Governor, from 1709 to 1717. Tiruvenkata Pillai seems to have lived in the old Indian town near the fort. Besides the Chennakesava, there was another temple in the area, that of Nattu Pillayar, to which there is a reference in Anandaranga's diary (Vi, p. 266)

In June, 1765, an English woman landed in Madras from England. Mrs Kindersley later wrote of what she saw in 'Letters from the Island of Teneriffe', published in 1777. She was profoundly impressed. Madras 'is without exception the prettiest place I ever saw. Madras is built entirely by the English; it is strongly fortified, and the walls and works, as well as the barracks for the army, the storehouses, and every other public building are so calculated as to be both convenient and an addition to the beauty of the place.

'The town is laid out in streets and squares; the houses neat and pretty, many of them large; in all the good houses the apartments are upstairs and all on one floor; the rooms are large and very lofty; most of the houses are built with a varendar (verandah), which is a terrace on a level with the rooms in the front, and sometimes in the back part of the house, supported by pillars below and a roof above supported likewise by pillars, with rails round to lean on. The varendars give a handsome appearance to the houses on the out-side, and are of great use, keeping out the sun by day, and in the evenings are cool and pleas-

ant to sit in. But what gives the greatest elegance to the houses is a material peculiar to the place; it is a cement or plaster called channam (chunam) made of the shells of a very large species of oysters found on this coast; these shells when burnt, pounded and mixed with water, form the strongest cement imaginable; if it is to be used as a plaster, they mix it with whites of eggs, milk and some other ingredients; when dry, it is as hard, and very near as beautiful as marble; the rooms, staircases etc are covered with it'.

As for the 'Black Town', which was 'a little without the walls of Madras', it contained 'shops of all sorts'.

Like John Fryer in the seventeenth century, another English surgeon visited Madras in the eighteenth. Edward Ives accompanied Admiral Watson's fleet which fought the French in 1755. It arrived in Madras on January 18, 1755. In his book, 'A Voyage from England to India in the year MDCCLIV', published in 1773, Ives says, 'The town of Madrass, or Fort St. George, is the chief settlement belonging to our East India company on the Coromandel coast; and stands between the thirteenth and fourteenth degrees of north latitude. It is situated in a sandy barren soil, and the climate is so intensely hot that were it not for the sea-breezes, which agreeably cool the air, it would be altogether uninhabitable. But notwithstanding this inconvenience, the place is exceedingly populous ... In a word, Madrass is of such importance to the company both for its internal wealth and the extensive commerce which is carried on that they have taken abundant pains, and have been at an immense expence, to make the fortifications as strong as possible. The fort (which is the principal defence of the place) is a regular square, with a glacis and covered way; and the whole town is surrounded with walls well mounted with artillery'. Three years after Ives first saw the fort, the French, under Lally, besieged it and failed to make any impression.

Ives continues, 'The buildings at Madrass, or the town of Fort St. George where the English only reside, are handsome and built in the modern European stile; but the houses of the Black-Town are very low and flat-roofed; some of them are tiled and others thatched; but neither the one nor the other have any

chimney'.

Though strictly speaking irrelevant, it is interesting to read what Ives has to say of the 'several sorts of servants employed in India' at the time. These are the 'Chief Dubash', the 'Dubash Boy' (with the explanation that "boy' is the common appellation in India for many of your servants, though they should be three-score years of age'), the 'Conucopola'. the 'Roundel-Boy', the 'Peon', the 'Demar-Boy', the 'Palanquin-Boy', the 'Compidor' and the 'Derwan'. Of these, the 'Roundel-Boy' carried an umbrella over his master's head in the street, the 'Demar-Boy' cleaned shoes, swept the house and fetched water, and the 'Compidor' bought 'such small things as fruit' from the market.

Little is known today of a vast work, the Abbe Raynalls 'A Philosophical and Political History of the Settlements and Trade of the Europeans in the East and West Indies', which was originally published in ten volumes. It was translated into English by Justamond in 1798, in six volumes. It makes a brief reference to both fort and city.

Raynal's history is execrable. He states that the city was 'built more than a century ago by William Langhorne in the country of Arcot and by the sea-side. As he placed it in the midst of a sandy tract, altogether dry, and where there was no water for drinking but what was fetched from the distance of more than a mile, people were curious to know what reasons could have determined him to make so bad a choice'. The reader is free to agree either with Langhorne's friends who said that 'his view was to draw all the trade of St. Thomas' or with his enemies who alleged that it was due to 'a desire of continuing in the neighbourhood of a mistress he had in that Portuguese Colony'.

Madras, proceeds Raynal, 'is divided into the White Town and the Black Town. The first of these, more known in Europe by the name of Fort St. George, is inhabited only by the English. For a long time it had only a few fortifications and those very bad; but some considerable works have lately been added'. This is a reference to the final reconstruction, which was certainly extensive.

The 'Black Town' was formerly 'quite open', but since 1767,

it 'has been surrounded with a strong wall and a ditch filled with water. This precaution, joined to the ruin of Pondicherry, has collected three hundred thousand men, Jews, Armenians, Moors and Indians, on this spot'.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, a Sanskrit 'campu' named 'Sarvadevavilasa' was written. The manuscript, which is not entire, was published in 1958. Its author is unknown. It contains a detailed description of two localities, Triplicane and Nungambakkam, and accounts of some leading Indians of the day.

Two Sanskrit pandits living in the 'Black Town' travel beyond the Town Wall to go to the big garden of a magnate, Kalingaraja. A few days later they visit another notability, Srirangaraja, in his garden. Both the magnates give them presents.

In the next chapter the pandits discuss the qualities of head and heart of the two notabilities as well as of Vedachala. Then follows an account of Vedachala's visit to his country seat, Kalasa. The festival this magnate celebrates in the temple of Lord Chidambereswara in Kalasa is described. The next day Vedachala, accompanied by Sriranga, Deva Nayaka and Kalingaraja, goes out for a morning ride. Later what may be called a literary soiree is held, where the two pandits present new musical compositions of theirs.

The assembly moves to Nungambakkam. There is a description of the patrons enjoying a bath in the big tank in Nungambakkam. Another soiree is held there, the main attraction being a scholarly disputation between the two pandits on the one hand and Deva Nayaka's pandit on the other. There is an umpire. One of the two pandits sings a hymn on the deity in the local temple. There is a hiatus in the manuscript at this stage.

When it resumes, Sriranga travels in procession to the templl- of Lord Ranganatha in Toyadri. He is accompanied by Venkaetadri, his associate in the management of the temple, and by a large retinue. Venkatadri had built a new ratha. The divine procession on this is described.

The pandits, returning to the city, then go to Toruvorriyur, where they meet Lingappa, the trustee of the temple. There is a valuable detailed account of the shrines in that historic temple.

From Tirivorriyur the pandits go to Triplicane, passing

Mahapuri by the way. The temple trustee is Annaswami. The magnates, after bathing in the tank, worship in the temple. They then go in procession to a garden of Kalingaraja nearby. A big soiree is held there. At this stage the manuscript breaks off.

The notabilities mentioned are historical persons. Deva Nayaka was Dubash to Forde, who conquered the Northern Circars from the French in 1758, and to Sir Eyre Coote, the greatest British soldier of the times after Clive, who finally overthrew the French power in south India at the battle of Wandiwash in 1760. Pindikuru Venkatadri was the trustee of the Krishna temple in Coral Merchant Street, in Black Town. It was built about 1787.

Chronologically the next available account is that of Mrs Maria Graham, who landed in Madras in July, 1810. She was an exceptional observer of the Indian scene, sympathetic, knowledgeable, and eager to learn. What she saw from board her ship entranced her. Her impressions are perhaps the finest tribute the fort and the city ever earned.

'The low flat sandy shore extending for miles to the north and south, for the few hills there are appear far inland, seem to promise nothing but barren nakedness when, on arriving in the roads, the town and fort are like a vision of enchantment', she writes in her 'Journal of a Residence in India', published in 1813, 'The beach is crowded with people of all colours, whose busy motions, at that distance, make the earth itself seem alive. The public offices and store-houses which line the beach are fine buildings, with colonnades to the upper stories supported by rustic bases arched, all of the fine Madras Chunam, smooth, hard and polished as marble. At a short distance Fort-George, with its lines and bastions, the Government house and gardens, backed by St. Thomas's Mount, form an interesting part of the picture, while here and there in the distance minarets and pagodas are seen rising from among the gardens'.

'At Madras every body lives in the country', Mrs Graham writes, 'though all offices and counting-houses, public and private, are in the fort or in town. The garden-houses are generally of only one story; they are of a pretty style of architecture,

having their porticos and virandas supported by pillars of chunam; the houses are usually surrounded by a field or compound, with a few trees and shrubs, but it is with incredible pains that flowers or fruit are raised'.

'Sketches of India', said on its title page to have been written by 'An Officer', but in the introduction by 'A Traveller', contains a long account of Madras and its vicinity. But the reference to the fort is scanty. The book, dated from the fort, was published in 1821. The author seems to have been a Colonel Sherer.

'All the government offices are in Fort St. George, which, though not large, is strong, handsome, well armed, kept in excellent order, and contains a fine arsenal. In the centre of a small square, surrounded with handsome buildings, stands a fine marble statue of Lord Cornwallis. A plain neat church adorns the open space just leading from one corner of the square'.

There are references to the fort and the city in the Telugu work, 'Kasiyatra Charita', a diary kept by Yenugula Veeraswami, living in Madras who made the pilgrimage to Kashi from May 18, 1830, to September 3, 1831. It has some passages on contemporary topography.

'There is a wall around the city on three sides, and on the east there is only sea and no wall. The city is about four miles square. There is a fort built as a necessary preparation in the event of war towards south on the east coast. On the northern side on the seashore there are warehouses for the imported and exported goods. Papam's street (Popham Broadway) and the Avenue street are the only two wide streets and they are not crowded in a narrow space ... The streets are swept and repaired ...Houses are built with airy rooms inside and decorative frontside views with trellis work and divans. There are about ten temples here where festivals for the deities are being celebrated every year'.

Veeraswami adds, 'There is a customs house on the seashore to collect the customs duty from incoming and outgoing merchandise. There is an office called land customs house on the eastern side to collect duty from the land trade. Some of the remaining offices are situated inside the fort, some on the seashore, and some more in the gardens outside'.

Veeraswami retired as an interpreter in the Supreme Court in Madras. He died in 1836, within a year of his retirement.

Finally, a guide published in 1875 has an account of the fort. In shape it is an irregular polygon, of which the face presents a clear front of 500 yards, the foundation being fenced with an artificial barrier of masonry. The fortifications on the land side consist of 5 bastions. The Fort contains extensive barracks for the accommodation of the troops in garrison, the buildings being spacious and well ventilated, and mostly with upper apartments. The comfort of the soldiers is excellently attended to. Single men are allotted separate quarters from those with families and are entirely distinct. The Officers, quarters are again distinct from these and are well calculated to afford every possible convenience to the occupants'.

'The Arsenal', says the guide, 'contains much of very great interest. It is admirably stocked with all the necessary implements of war. The entrance is adorned with two of Tippoo's guns, which are so wrought as to represent the heads of tigers'.

Describing the statue of Lord Cornwallis which has now been removed to the Fort Museum, the guide says that it was erected in 1800. 'The hero of the Mysore war is here represented in a standing posture sheltered by a cupola of granite, and in commemoration of the successful issue of the war the surrender of Tippoo's two sons in 1792 as hostages for the due performance of the Treaty then concluded is sculptured in alto relievo on one side of the circular pedestal on which the statue rests'.

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CHAPTER VIII

THE FORT TODAY

Today, as before, civil and military business is transacted in the fort. It contains offices of the Tamilnad Government and of the defence services. The State legislature functions here. So do some civilian departments of the Central Government.

There are two entrances each on the eastern and western wal The old Sea Gate, which pierced the eastern wall right in i centre, has given place to two other gates to its south and nort On the west there are St. George Gate to the north-west ar Walajah Gate to the south-west. Each gate here occurs in pai one before the moat and the other on the wall. St. George Ga leads to Poonamalle High Road, and Walajah Gate to Mou Road, now called Anna Salai. These two roads were, and ar the city's main thoroughfares. They lead respectively to Poon malle and to St. Thomas Mount. While St Thomas Mount a cantonment, Poonamalle was one. Poonamalle was also health resort for the British troops for a time.

Many old buildings, the flagstaff which is the tallest in t country, and the parade ground are relics of the past. A hu building in the modern style was added recently.

Entering the fort through the south gate on the east, the visit observes on his right the flagstaff rearing its height Fryer saw in 1673. The Union Jack replaced the company's flag in 168 The Indian national flag was hoisted on August 15, 1947.

In front of the flagstaff are the Secretariat buildings. It possible that they embody the Fort House which was built 1695 to replace Day's original structure. It seems to form the middle portion of the buildings. The wings were added in 1825. There have been other additions since.

The buildings house the two houses of the State legislature and many Government offices. They contain twenty granite pillars which have a history. These originally formed part of a colonnade, pictured in an old print of the fort, leading from the Fort Square to the Sea Gate. This was constructed by Mor-

ton Pitt, the Governor, in 1732. The French carried away the pillars to Pondicherry when they captured the fort in 1746. But the British recovered them after the fall of Pondicherry fifteen years later.

To the south of the Secretariat across a road, between St. Thomas and Church Streets, stands St. Mary's. Robert Clive was married there. The sanctuary contains a copy of Raphael's famous painting of the Last Supper, which was brought from Pondicherry on its fall. The tombstones of some Governors and of persons interred in the old burial ground, the site which the Law College now occupies, the 'English Golgotha' as Fryer called it, are to be found here.

South of the church is the Area Army Headquarters. It was formerly the Town Hall. Opposite to the church across Church Street is Clive House. Clive lived here with his wife in 1753. An inscription affixed to a wall mentions this fact.

The Court of Admiralty later functioned in this building. Still later it was the Governor's town residence. State functions were held there until the Banqueting Hall, now renamed Rajaji Hall, was built by Lord Clive, the son of the conqueror, in 1801, when he was the Governor.

On the same street to the south is Wellesley House, now used as defence offices. Colonel Wellesley, as the future Duke of Wellington was at the beginning of his career in India, lived there when in Madras in the last years of the eighteenth century.

Barrack Square, the large open space behind the Secretariat, is so called because army barracks stand nearby, some to its west and some others to its north The statue of Cornwallis stood here.

The Garrison Theatre, to the north-east of the barracks, contains parts of a building which may date to about 1740.

The Fort Museum, which faces the northern gate on the east, is located in an old building The first structure on the site belonged to a private merchant in days when private citizens were allowed to live in the fort. It was pulled down and the present structure was built between 1787 and 1790. On the ground floor functioned a bank known at different periods as the Government Bank and the Madras Bank. The Exchange of old Madras was

located on the first floor. On its top was erected a lighthouse in 1796. Nearly a hundred feet above sea level, the lighthouse could be noticed from the decks of ships about twenty miles away. It was dismantled in 1841, when a new one was built near the High Court.

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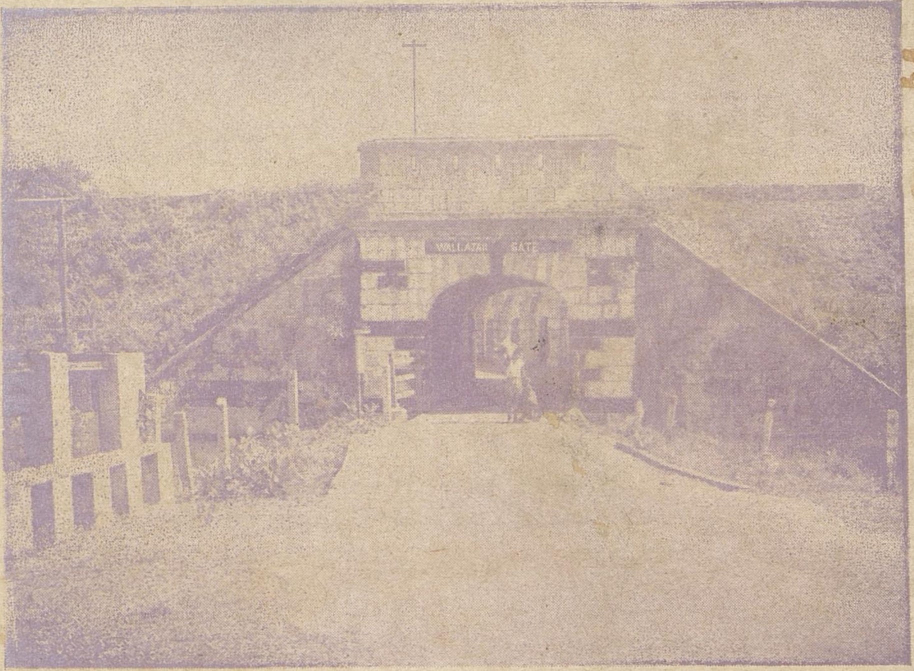
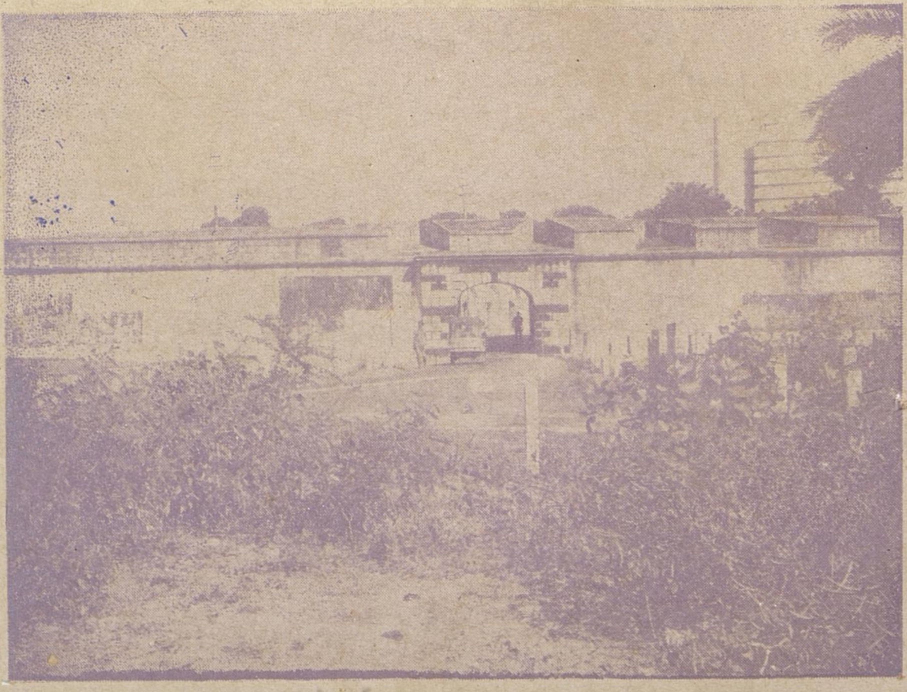
Three basic books for the historian of Fort St. George are Colonel Davison Love's 'Vestiges of Madras' (London, 1913, three volumes), Sir William Foster's 'Founding of Fort St. George, Madras' (London, 1902) and C.S. Srinivasachari's 'A History of the City of Madras' (Madras, 1939).

Besides these, I have utilised 'Sources of Vijayanagar History', edited by S. Krishnaswami Iyengar, Madras, 1919, and 'Fort St. George, Madras' by Mrs Frank Penny, London, 1900.

An earlier book of mine, 'The Founding of Madras' (Madras, 1977) traverses some of the ground covered in this work.



Wallajah Gate
FORT ST. GEORGE, MADRAS
St. George Gate